

# The American Historical Review

Vol. XLVI No. 1

October, 1940

ISSUED QUARTERLY

## ARTICLES

- Maryland before the Revolution . . . . Charles A. Barker 1  
The Decline of Lockian Political Theory . . H. V. S. Ogden 21  
The Court, the Corporation, and Conkling . A. C. McLaughlin 45

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

- President Jefferson and his Successor . . Roy J. Honeywell 64

## DOCUMENTS

- A Peace Mission of 1863 . . . . Fred Harvey Harrington 76

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS (See inside cover pages) . . . . . 87

## NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS (See inside back cover page) 182

## HISTORICAL NEWS . . . . . 240

---

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

8 NORTH SIXTH STREET, RICHMOND, VA.

60 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

# BOARD OF EDITORS

ARTHUR E. R. BOAK  
WILLIAM L. LANGER  
NELLIE NEILSON

DEXTER PERKINS  
J. G. RANDALL  
PRESERVED SMITH

## Managing Editor

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

## Assistant Editor

ELEANOR D. SMITH

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL HISTORY

Eisenschiml, <i>Reviewers Reviewed</i> , by Carl Becker .....	87
Childe, <i>Man makes Himself</i> , by F. Barry .....	88
Elias, <i>Über den Prozess der Zivilisation</i> , by Howard Becker .....	89
Sedgwick and Tyler, <i>Short History of Science</i> , by Carl B. Boyer .....	91
Whittlesey, <i>Earth and the State</i> , by Richard Hartshorne .....	92
Teggart, <i>Rome and China</i> , by C. Martin Wilbur .....	93
Du Bois, <i>Black Folk, Then and Now</i> , by Charles T. Loram .....	95
Schumpeter, <i>Business Cycles</i> , by Hans Rosenberg .....	96
Robertson, <i>France and Latin-American Independence</i> , by Dexter Perkins .....	99
Hishida, <i>Japan among the Great Powers</i> , by Payson J. Treat .....	101

### ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Scullard, <i>History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B. C.</i> ; Marsh, <i>146 to 30 B. C.</i> ; Parker, <i>A. D. 138 to 337</i> , by Tom B. Jones .....	102
Rostovtzeff et al., <i>Excavations at Dura-Europos</i> , by Harold N. Fowler .....	104
Radin, <i>Marcus Brutus</i> , by Jacob Hammer .....	105
Syme, <i>Roman Revolution</i> , by Michael Ginsburg .....	106
Gérard, <i>Les Bulgares de la Volga et les Slaves du Danube</i> , by A. Vasiliev .....	108
Lutz, <i>Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum</i> , by Cornelia C. Coulter .....	109
Kern, <i>Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages</i> , by Franklin L. Baumer .....	111
Riess, <i>History of the English Electoral Law in the Middle Ages</i> , by J. F. Baldwin .....	112

### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Keir, <i>Constitutional History of Modern Britain</i> , by R. L. Schuyler .....	113
Latourette, <i>History of the Expansion of Christianity</i> , III, by David S. Muzzey .....	117
Baumer, <i>Early Tudor Theory of Kingship</i> , by A. B. White .....	118
Harrison, <i>Elizabethan Journals</i> , by Louis B. Wright .....	120
Cooke, <i>Charles I and his Earlier Parliaments</i> , by David Harris Willson .....	121
Harper, <i>English Navigation Laws</i> , by Leonard W. Labaree .....	122
Delanglez, <i>Frontenac and the Jesuits</i> , by Louise Phelps Kellogg .....	123

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

The American Historical Association supplies THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to all its members; the Council of the Association elects the members of the Board of Editors.

Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 8 North Sixth Street, Richmond, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The price of subscription is \$5.00 a year; single numbers are sold for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for \$7.50.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW should be sent to the Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City. Books for review should be sent to the same address.

COPYRIGHT, 1940, BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.



❧❧❧ *New Berzoi Books* ❧❧❧

---

## THE ANATOMY OF BRITISH SEA POWER

By **ARTHUR  
MARDER**

This is the first complete study ever published of British naval policy in the vital pre-dreadnaught era, 1880-1905. Using all the published materials and a wealth of hitherto unavailable primary sources, including the Admiralty Archives, Dr. Marder examines the root forces underlying British naval expansion in that formative quarter-century—the interplay of foreign and naval policy, the effect of strategical considerations, technical innovations, public opinion, and party politics. His findings go far to explain the course of naval affairs ever since in all nations, and thus to make clear some of the steps which culminated in the present war.

\$5.00

## A HISTORY OF THE JEWS

*New Revised  
Edition*

By **ABRAM LEON  
SACHAR**

The new edition of what has long been recognized as the standard work on its subject brings the story of the Jewish people completely up to date to include the blood-bath which has followed Nazism in central Europe, the adventure of Palestine, and the place of the Jewish citizen in such free nations as the United States. Complete, detailed, and popularly written, *A History of the Jews* will continue to stand as the most authoritative and most readable treatment of its subject.

120 pages, with 4 maps.

\$4.00

## A HISTORY OF CHICAGO

*Volume II*

By **BESSIE L.  
PIERCE**

This second volume of Professor Pierce's definitive work carries the story of Chicago through the two and half decades between two crucial dates—1848, when the first railroad opened convenient communication with the rest of the country; and 1871, the year of the great fire. "That the completed history will be a monumental, comprehensive and important achievement goes without saying."—*New York Times Book Review*. 560 pages, bibliography, index, 13 illustrations, 2 maps.

\$5.00

## TODAY AND DESTINY *Vital Excerpts from Spengler*

By **EDWIN F.  
DAKIN**

From Spengler's thousand pages and half a million words of prophecy and analysis in *The Decline of the West*, Mr. Dakin has selected the parts that throw most light on what has already happened—and what we still face—and what Americans must understand, to organize for survival and supremacy. Mr. Dakin's Introduction clarifies the Spengler method of forecasting, and his Commentary applies this method in a Communiqué on the American scene.

\$2.75

❧❧❧ *Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.* ❧❧❧

# Crofts

Commager

## DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY *Second Edition*

Two hundred pages of new material have been added to this standard collection. These cover the most important legislation and judicial decisions of the last eight years, also certain treaties, party platforms, committee reports and Presidential addresses.

*In one volume only, 1092 pages, \$4.00*

## Bailey A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

"This is the best textbook on the history of American diplomacy now available to the college student."—Edward Mead Earle

"For an absorbing history of foreign relations in a perspective of public opinion, this volume achieves genuine distinction."

—William P. Maddox

*Maps, illus., 806 pages, \$4.25*

## Hacker AMERICAN PROBLEMS OF TODAY

In this history of the United States since the World War, Hacker gives a searching analysis of the New Deal movement, its background, theory, tactics and achievements. A provocative text for courses on current American problems.

*354 pages, \$2.00*

Gras and Larson

## CASEBOOK IN AMERICAN BUSINESS HISTORY

Forty-three cases, largely from American experience, open a wealth of source material to students of economics and business history. An admirable supplement to Gras' BUSINESS AND CAPITALISM: An Introduction to Business History.

*765 pages, \$5.00*

*for these and other books in American history, write to*

F. S. CROFTS & CO.—New York



## DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Vol. I. January 1938—June 1939. 582 pages. \$3.75

Vol. II. July 1939—June 1940. Approx. 900 pages. \$3.75  
(Available Sept. 30, 1940)

*Edited by S. SHEPARD JONES and DENYS P. MYERS*

Boston, World Peace Foundation

### Comments on Volume I:

"The compilers . . . are to be congratulated on the skill they have shown both in the selection and in the organization of the many official addresses, statements, diplomatic notes, laws, proclamations, regulations, statistics, and texts of treaties or Executive agreements . . . They have woven a mass of not always scintillating official documents into a whole that is more than a mere reference work. In parts it is actually good reading."

E. W. Spaulding, *American Foreign Service Journal*, February 1940.

" . . . This seems to me by all odds the very best compilation of material pertaining to recent American diplomacy. I have already adopted it as a text in my course in Recent Problems of American Foreign Policy."

*Professor Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College.*

### WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

40 Mt. Vernon Street

Boston, Massachusetts

## *Recently published text and source material in History*

**NARRATIO DE ITINERE NAVALI PEREGRINORUM HIEROSOLYMAM TENDENTIUM ET SILVIAM CAPIENTUM, A.D. 1189**, edited by Charles W. David. *Proc.* Vol. 81, no. 5. 85 pp. \$0.75. "A scrupulously careful edition of this interesting manuscript . . . with editorial notes which help to bring out many details of the period."

**THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BENJAMIN HARRISON AND JAMES G. BLAINE, 1882-1893**, edited by Albert T. Volwiler. *Memoirs*, Vol. 14. 314 pp. \$3.50. "This volume of correspondence, hitherto inaccessible, reveals for the first time the truth of the much discussed relations of President Harrison to Secretary of State Blaine."

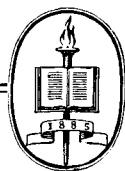
**GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, 1540-1640**, by John U. Nef. *Memoirs*, Vol. 15. 162 pp. \$2.00. Based upon an exhaustive examination of unpublished material in French and English archives, this work presents the comparative case-histories of two nations in which government and industry reacted strongly on each other.

**THE MENOMINI INDIANS OF WISCONSIN**, by Felix M. Keesing. *Memoirs*, Vol. 10. 261 pp. \$2.50. This work follows the changes in Menomini culture over a period of three centuries and constitutes a thorough study of the general process of cultural contact and change.

### THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

INDEPENDENCE SQUARE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA



Just Published—

## Two New Histories

### Development of Contemporary Civilization

Part Two of A HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

By BOSSENBROOK and Others, Wayne University

Deals with the common cultural tradition of Europe that forms the civilization in which we live today. Squarely faces the critical problems of the present with a challenging investigation into the nature and values of our civilization and of its capacity for adjustment.

**PART ONE. Foundations of Western Civilization. \$3.75**

**PART TWO. Development of Contemporary Civilization. \$3.75**



### HUTTON WEBSTER'S History of Civilization

Presents a survey of man's cultural development through the centuries, with particular emphasis on the *peoples* of the earth—their interrelationships and peculiar contributions to the social heritage of today . . . The first section includes a masterly resumé of cultural anthropology and gives the student an unusually interesting *human* point of view, which is retained throughout the book. . . . Carefully organized, clearly presented, and distinguished by a fresh, original formulation of the course of history in the chapters dealing with medieval and modern civilization. **\$4.50**

---

**D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY**

BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO ATLANTA SAN FRANCISCO DALLAS LONDON

## BOOKS FROM THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY PRESS

### **William Salter: Western Torchbearer**

By Philip D. Jordan

The story of a distinguished Western clergyman, author, and historian. Here is told the trials of frontier preaching, the work of the American Home Missionary Society, the founding of churches and colleges, and the gradual growth of Congregationalism, set against the background of an expanding America. \$3.00

### **Thomas Riley Marshall: Hoosier Statesman**

By Charles M. Thomas

This biography gives proof of the deal which nominated Woodrow Wilson in 1912; traces the change in Marshall during the period of wartime hysteria and post-war readjustment; and reveals the truth concerning President Wilson's illness, the facts of which were kept from Congress and the nation. \$3.00

### **Heaven on Earth: A Planned Mormon Society**

By William J. McNiff

An objective, yet sympathetic, story of Mormon social life as seen in co-operatives, music, theatre, literature, and group control. "A scholarly, fair-minded study . . . emphasis upon . . . cultural factors makes the book unique among treatments of the Mormon story . . . will be read widely."—*Improvement Era*. \$3.00

### **Lazare Carnot: Republican Patriot**

By Huntley Dupre

French liberalism and genius, as well as leadership and administrative skill were all secrets of Lazare Carnot's successful leadership during the stirring days of the Revolution and the rise of the Republic. A noteworthy contribution to French history and thought. \$4.50

The Mississippi Valley Press publishes volumes pertaining to cultural and political history, and is especially interested in giving scholars an opportunity to make significant contributions through the *Men of America Series*, *Annals of America Series*, and *Foundation Studies in Culture*.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY PRESS

*Historical Publishers*

OXFORD, OHIO



---

---

## NEW COLUMBIA BOOKS

---

---

### **Greek Popular Religion**

*by Martin P. Nilsson. \$2.50*

### **Zenon Papyri; Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt.**

*Volume II, edited by William L. Westermann, Clinton W. Keyes, and Herbert Liebesny. \$6.00*

### **Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy; An Analysis of the Sources.**

*by Kurt von Fritz. \$2.00*

### **The Letters of St. Boniface**

*Edited by Ephraim Emerton. \$3.00*

### **Gild Statutes of Toulouse**

*by Sister Mary Ambrose.*

### **Discussion of Holidays in the Later Middle Ages**

*by Edith Cooperrider Rodgers.*

### **History of Magic and Experimental Science**

*by Lynn Thorndike. Volumes V and VI. \$5.00 each.*

### **The Cultural Approach to History; Papers delivered at the December, 1939, Meeting of the American Historical Association.**

*Edited by Caroline F. Ware.*

*Write for full information*

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS**

*Morningside Heights—New York*

---

---

WOODS

## NEW COLUMBIA BOOKS

*Insurgency; Personalities and Politics of the  
Taft Era.* by Kenneth William Hechler \$3.00

*Agrarian Discontent in 18th Century New York.*  
by Irving Mark \$3.00

*The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834.*  
by Thomas T. McAvoy

*French Pioneers in the West Indies, 1624-1664.*  
by Nellie M. Crouse \$3.50

*Introduction to the Constitutional History of  
Modern Greece.* by Nicholas Kaltchas \$2.00

*Nikola Pasic and the Union of the Yugoslavs*  
by Count Carlo Sforza

*English Education and the Origins of Indian  
Nationalism.* by Bruce Tiebout McCully

*The German Delegation at the Paris Peace  
Conference.* by Alma Luckau

*Write for full information*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Morningside Heights - New York*

W  
5  
S  
P  
E  
C  
I  
A  
L

GINN AND COMPANY, Publishers

*Books for Today*

STEIGER

*History of the Far East*

A simple, scholarly history from the earliest days to the present with particular emphasis on events since 1500 and especially since 1800. It includes China, Japan, Korea, Manchukuo, India, Indo-China, Malaysia, Eastern Siberia, and Central Asia. The dominating theme is politics but religion, philosophy, art, literature, and economic conditions are adequately treated. 33 maps.

\$4.75

WILLIAMS *The People  
and Politics of Latin  
America, New Edition*

The national history of the various Latin-American countries with emphasis on certain aboriginal and Hispanic influences which took shape in pre-Columbian and colonial times. The treatment is full enough to present the differentiating features in the history of each country. The discussion includes recent political and social developments such as the new order in Pan-American relations; and new developments in communication and in music, art, and literature. Sixty illustrations. \$4.60 (Prices subject to the usual discount.)

BOSTON   ✓   NEW YORK   ✓   CHICAGO   ✓   LONDON  
ATLANTA   ✓   DALLAS   ✓   COLUMBUS   ✓   SAN FRANCISCO



# The American Historical Review

## MARYLAND BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

### SOCIETY AND THOUGHT

THE thinking of the prerevolutionary generation in Maryland conformed very largely to the liberal and rationalistic currents so vigorous in the Age of the Enlightenment. The faith in reason, the questions and doubts about traditional Christianity, and the liberal political theories propagated in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were widely known and firmly held in the province. As in Europe, such thinking flourished in the context of the scientific and literary ideas which radiated from the England of Locke and Newton, Addison and Pope.

Substantial scholarship in American intellectual history has recently stressed the elements of humanism and science in Puritan New England, even in the seventeenth century;<sup>1</sup> and a careful student of colonial reading habits has well said that the "intellectual differences between early New Englanders and Virginians were not so great as some of their descendants would have us believe".<sup>2</sup> So it was also with Marylanders of the middle of the eighteenth century. In common with all British America and with Western Europe as a whole, the educated classes and their followers in thought were participating in movements of ideas which were antiauthoritarian and libertarian in direction.

Yet the provincial situation was somewhat complicated. The tobacco-staple economy of Maryland was such as to have two large influences on cultural life, one stimulating and one retarding. First, the predominance of overseas commerce always kept the doors open to the free entrance of ideas and tastes, especially from the mother

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Goddard Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England* (New Haven, 1920); Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1935), *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1936), *The Puritan Presence* (New York, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> Louis B. Wright, "The Purposeful Reading of our Colonial Ancestors", *E. L. H., A Journal of English Literary History*, IV (1937), 87.

country. But, second, plantation life inevitably exerted a negative, restrictive, influence. Man was separated from man by the isolation of tobacco farms, stretching in broken lines along the inlets of Chesapeake Bay and the rivers. The social differences between great landholders and small, between freemen and unfree servants and slaves, were very great; society was stratified much as in contemporary England. During the course of the eighteenth century, moreover, the cardinal difference of the seventeenth century, between Catholic and Protestant, was multiplied by many lines of religious division. There were Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians, Quakers, and German members of the Reformed and Lutheran faiths, all in considerable numbers; there were members of the minor pietist sects, in smaller numbers; there were religious conservatives and religious liberals, especially within the Church of England.

In the absence of a common faith, Maryland lacked the influence which goes far to explain the rise of the schools and colleges of New England and the Anglican colleges in Virginia and New York. With a decentralized economy, Maryland also lacked such developed urbanism as was represented in the north by Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Neither Annapolis nor Baltimore in the colonial period brought together such civic pride and intellectual and economic energies as made possible the college and scientific activities in Philadelphia. Even if there had been a Maryland Franklin, there would hardly have been place or personnel for a Maryland junto of intellectual artisans. At the close of the colonial period the growing institutions and organs of a common culture were few: the churches, the printing offices of Annapolis and Baltimore, and a group of gentlemen's clubs are about all that the record shows.

Social differentiation and economic decentralization, the influences which account for certain deficiencies in cultural growth, also suggest the receptiveness of the upper class to the main currents of eighteenth century thought. Well-to-do planters and merchants, living in grandeur on isolated estates, turned their minds homeward, in the direction of the tobacco trade. Their direct commercial connections with London and the British outports included a book trade with the trade in more practical commodities and promoted what may be called an educational trade as well. One of the privileges of wealth, realized in the pre-revolutionary period by perhaps half-a-hundred young Marylanders, was education overseas. Ordinarily this meant legal training in the English inns of court; but sometimes it included college study, as in

the case of the younger Daniel Dulany at Clare College, Cambridge, and of a few of the wealthy Catholics, who went to St. Omer's, a Jesuit college in Flanders, and to France. Two of the several Charles Carrolls of this period of Maryland history illustrate the interest in books and ideas which went with European education. Charles Carroll of Carrollton while abroad sought the permission of his father to make extensive purchases of French works, including specifically those of Voltaire, his favorite, and of Boileau and Rousseau.<sup>3</sup> Similarly Charles Carroll, Barrister, a member of the Protestant branch of the family, who had studied both on the Continent and in England, once asked a London merchant to send him "15 or 20 shillings of the best political and other pamphlets, especially any that relate to the colonies . . . but none of religious controversy. It is some amusement to learn from your authors and their works of wit how things pass with you."<sup>4</sup>

Other social groups than that of the wealthy planters and merchants had intellectually significant contacts with Europe and with the neighboring colonies. Under the proprietary system the Lords Baltimore sent out provincial officials and Anglican clergymen who brought from England an acquaintanceship with the secular ideas of their age. This was never more plainly illustrated than in the case of the Reverend Bennet Allen, whose career as a minister and officeholder, just before the Revolution, was the most scandalous of the century in Maryland. With many sins he combined a certain literary facility, a knowledge of law, and a feeling for ideas; and he used them in newspaper controversy.<sup>5</sup> On a lower social level the continuing flow of immigration into the northern and western counties kept Maryland open to currents of feeling among the Presbyterians and the German sectarians. Thus the very divisions of Maryland society, unfavorable to the growth of native institutions of culture, themselves involved contacts abroad, contacts which colonies with more social coherence, such as Connecticut, did not have.

The actual transplantation of ideas and the growth and maturing of some of them may be conveniently reviewed in connection with the

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Jan. 17, 1759, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, X (1915), 231.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to William Anderson, Oct. 4, 1764, Papers of Dr. Charles Carroll and Charles Carroll, Barrister, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. For comment on Carroll's reading see W. S. Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man", *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XXXI (1936), 123.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed statement of the materials on Allen see Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 231.



local centers and types of thought which were natural to the province. First, the emergence in the eighteenth century of a class of great landholders, largely from among families of two or three generations' standing in the southern counties, created a need for legal knowledge and training. As the great owners were faced with many problems of title and administration, of dealing with tenants and debtors, they encouraged the rise of a legal profession and the spread of legal-mindedness in Maryland. Second, the bicameral legislature, with its long struggle between the elected house and the house appointed by the lord proprietor, set a suggestive parallel with the parliament of England in its seventeenth century history. Liberal ideas of English constitutionalism were as strongly held in Annapolis as in Westminster, and they were evoked with an aggressiveness and a stridency which befitted the irreconcilability of proprietary government with the self-consciousness of a growing province. Third, the Church of England, as established in Maryland by the statute of 1702, fixed in the province another focus of thought and feeling. It was not narrowly localized, but because the parishes in the southern tidewater areas were usually more attractive and more profitable than the outlying ones and drew the abler of the ministers, and also because dissent there was less prominent, Anglicanism may be thought of as strongest where the greatest estates were and where the governing class was concentrated. Fourth, the wealth, the education, and the leisure of the great tobacco planters and the high colonial officials created a will to have and to enjoy the arts, letters, and amusements of the upper classes in England. This tendency was most prominent in Annapolis, but it was to be observed in the fine homes of the well-to-do on both the eastern and western shores. Fifth and finally, the outlying sections, which, as they were apart from the tobacco plantations of the tidewater, comprised the Maryland segment of the "Old West" of the colonial period, made a natural reservoir for the new and expansive elements in the province. Here the immigrants of the eighteenth century brought the less English and the more foreign, the less secular and more pious, aspects of thought and feeling in the province. In discussing these five focuses of Maryland thought, it will be convenient to treat briefly the "Old West" at the outset. Then the legalism, the liberalism, the Anglicanism, and the literary and artistic cultivation of the upper classes in the eastern and southern counties may be considered in their natural conformity, each with the others, as phases of English culture rooted and growing in Maryland.

The outlying sections of Maryland were two: a northeastern section, around the head of Chesapeake Bay, and a northwestern section, in the interior, centering in the valley of the Monocacy and the town of Frederick. The western area, organized in 1748 as Frederick County, was occupied only in the seventeen-thirties and forties by converging streams of settlers. They were principally composed of German immigrants, coming from the north and east, and of Marylanders moving up the Potomac from the lower counties. Life in Frederick County was marked by the ordinary characteristics of frontier settlement: grain culture and trade laid the foundations of stability and prosperity; but, until after the colonial wars, poverty, vagrancy, and the dangers of Indian and animal from the forest were special realities in the county.<sup>6</sup> The area to the east, around the head of the bay, was perhaps not as rude. Yet, in the colony which had grown by the movement of settlers from the south, up the bay and up the Potomac, it was also a frontier area. The trade of the rising town of Baltimore connected it intimately with the west, and its population, like that of Frederick County, was a mixture of English and foreign, especially German, elements.<sup>7</sup>

Culturally the outlying sections were in no such degree as southern Maryland imitative of the life of Great Britain. The recent German settlers put a special stamp on the back country. They were loyal to their traditions and ideals; Michael Schlatter, a visiting minister from Holland, declared that he had never seen the Reformed faith more pure than in the valley of the Monocacy.<sup>8</sup> In the northeastern counties the picture of a culture predominantly religious is much the same, but the sects were Scotch-Irish and English more prominently than German. The long ministry of Samuel Finley to the Presbyterian congregation at Nottingham, near the Pennsylvania boundary, achieved especial distinction. Finley came in 1741, a graduate of the Tennents' Log College, to take charge of a "new side" congregation; he established and operated a Presbyterian academy, the only school of its kind in Maryland; and he was called, after seventeen years, to be president

<sup>6</sup> See Charles E. Kemper and William J. Hinke, eds., "Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1903-1904), 116-17. There is mention of bears and other animals in western Maryland in *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), November 30, 1749; and of vagrancy, in a proclamation of Governor Thomas Bladen, October 10, 1745, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), XXVIII, 348-49.

<sup>7</sup> C. P. Gould, "The Economic Causes of the Rise of Baltimore", *Essays in Colonial History presented to Charles McLean Andrews* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 230-32.

<sup>8</sup> Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 154, 176-77.

of the College of New Jersey at Princeton.<sup>9</sup> In the same area there were many Quakers, and, in the decade before the Revolution, there also appeared a number of Methodists, among the earliest in America. The Methodists were especially successful in and around the town of Baltimore, where they were vigorously led by Robert Strawbridge and were encouraged by occasional visits from Francis Asbury, the leader of the movement in America.<sup>10</sup>

Commercial and civic life in Baltimore did something, indeed, at the close of the colonial period, to modify the entire predominance of sectarian thought and feeling in outlying Maryland. Several printers opened business in the town, and the excellent *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, the second newspaper in the province, was launched in 1773.<sup>11</sup> There were also public lectures on science, a small theater, and other signs of an increasing secular culture.<sup>12</sup> Evangelical and pietistic influences, however, remained rooted and growing in the northern and western counties, influences which were not common in lower Maryland. There was little assimilation, culturally, between the "Old West" in Maryland, where so many elements were new and foreign, and the established and traditional way of life of the southern counties.

The most striking feature of society in lower Maryland was the prominence and power of great landholders and proprietary officials. The feudal element, declining but not eliminated from English society and English thought in the seventeenth century, had been introduced into Maryland with a greater variety of manorial and seigniorial usages than in any other colony.<sup>13</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century many of these usages had disappeared. Yet even after so long a period of social change and adjustment, the ancient English and feudal tradition, which joined the holding of great estates with political authority and social distinction, was well entrenched in Maryland. Each of the lower counties had families which, if they did not com-

<sup>9</sup> Bernard C. Steiner *et al.*, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), p. 36; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1857-69), III, 96-97.

<sup>10</sup> Nathan Bangs, *Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson* (New York, 1845), pp. 28-37; William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (New York, 1933), pp. 50-68.

<sup>11</sup> Wroth, *History of Printing*, chs. 9-10.

<sup>12</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 26, Sept. 18, 1764; Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833); John T. Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), and *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881).

<sup>13</sup> Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1934—), II, 297-98.



prise a provincial aristocracy according to the design implicit in the seventeenth century manors, at least stood in a position very like that of the squires' families of eighteenth century England. The Taskers, Hammonds, Dulany's, and Carrolls of Anne Arundel County, including Annapolis, represent the class at its fullest development. Their holdings amounted to from one or two to eight or ten thousand acres and sometimes more. In a tobacco-staple colony, and one with a growing population, where fortunes were made in the export trade and in land speculation, the possession of a few thousand acres meant economic advantage and social standing. If even the largest of the Maryland holdings, running to about forty thousand acres, did not rival the great estates of New York and Virginia, they set their owners far above the mass of men—the slaves and unfree servants, the leaseholders, and the small planters, who had freeholds of from fifty to three or four hundred acres.<sup>14</sup>

Intellectually, the most characteristic thing about the class of great propertyholders in Maryland was an accent on legal thinking and legal training. Charles Carroll of Doughoregan Manor expressed the practical reasons for this emphasis when he urged his son, later to be known as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to persist in his studies at the Inner Temple. The father wrote as follows:

It is a shame for a Gentleman to be ignorant of the Laws of his Country and to be dependent on every dirty Pettyfogger . . . on the other hand, how commendable it is for a Gentleman of independent fortune not only [not] to stand in need of mercenary Advisers, but to be able to advise and assist his Friends, Relations, and Neighbors of all sorts.<sup>15</sup>

As the editors of the earliest printed volume of Maryland court decisions were to put the matter, it was important that "the principles by which [the landlord held] his property should be familiarized to him".<sup>16</sup>

Doubtless the practical and material considerations were the most influential in evoking the legal-mindedness common among members of the upper class, but there were also public and traditional considerations which worked in the same direction. As in England, the local offices of sheriff and of justice of the peace were held by the "principal

<sup>14</sup> On the distribution of land see Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore), XXXI (1913), no. 1, pp. 77-78, 81.

<sup>15</sup> Oct. 6, 1759. Thomas Meagher Field, ed., *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (New York, 1902), p. 33.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Harris and John McHenry, *Maryland Reports . . . 1700 . . . to the American Revolution* (New York, 1809), p. iv.

gentlemen" of standing and consequence in the counties. Although the governor made the appointments, the justices were free, as in the mother country, to manage local affairs—local justice, county rates, roads, poor relief, and the like—without interference from above.<sup>17</sup> The predominance of the gentry in county office was matched, moreover, in the legislature of the province. The average landholding of a member of the house of delegates on the eve of the Revolution was close to twenty-five hundred acres, and that of a member of the council was about eight thousand acres.<sup>18</sup> Not only were the averages high, but there were almost no members of small estate. The association of landed wealth with government was very intimate in Maryland.

This association, essentially feudal in tradition, led many a colonial squire, as justice of the peace, to think and speak the language of the law. Although the county justices, and even the provincial justices, were often lay justices, without professional training, they were instructed to have the statutes of England at hand and to use Dalton's *Country Justice*.<sup>19</sup> "Suppose you should be called upon to act in any public Character", wrote the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in the letter quoted above, "what an awkward figure you would make without the knowledge of the Law either as Legislator, Judge, or even an Arbitrator of differences among your Neighbors and friends."<sup>20</sup> The Maryland landholder as judge and legislator combined the mentality of social superiority and economic security with that of free government and knowledge of the common law. A similar mentality, in the dark days of Charles I, had stood a bulwark for English constitutionalism against the extreme claims of the royal power.<sup>21</sup>

The prominence of legalism visibly increased in the last three decades of the provincial period. Before the mid-century a few careers notable in both public leadership and private enterprise had been built around the practice of law and the advantage the lawyer enjoyed in

<sup>17</sup> The justices of the peace were appointed with the advice of the council and sometimes of the lower house of assembly. Address of the lower house, Oct. 28, 1725, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXV, 360.

<sup>18</sup> The average holding of delegates elected in 1758 was 2221.6 acres, and that of delegates elected in 1771 was 2431.6. The details of this investigation will appear in the writer's forthcoming book, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland*. The figures are based on statistics in the Debt Books, manuscript lists used to determine the quit-rent payments of freeholders, Maryland Land Office, Annapolis.

<sup>19</sup> Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland: A History* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Oct. 6, 1759, Field, ed., *Unpublished Letters*, p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> J. R. Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 78.

politics. The cases of the two Daniel Dulanys, father and son, and that of Stephen Bordley illustrate the increasing variety of interests which encouraged legalism and even led to the rise of a professional group of lawyers in Maryland. Both the Dulanys held office as proprietary attorney general and in other capacities which placed a premium on professional skill, both were prominent pamphleteers, as will appear below, and the elder Dulany was the principal promoter in western land speculation,<sup>22</sup> an activity involving titles and tenancies and one in which the professionally trained lawyers especially concerned themselves.<sup>23</sup> Stephen Bordley, a landowner and leader of the lower house, particularly represents the affinity between the mercantile interest and the legal profession. The lawsuit, he wrote to a London merchant, was the only way to get payment for overdue provincial debts.<sup>24</sup> The same connection between merchant and lawyer is amply revealed in the correspondence of the Annapolis firm of Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson in the years just preceding the Revolution. One of the partners, Joshua Johnson, was a brother of Thomas Johnson, the lawyer and future state governor, and the firm had associations with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll, Barrister, and other Marylanders of professional training in the law.<sup>25</sup>

In Maryland, as in Massachusetts and elsewhere, the generation before the Revolution saw the lawyers achieve leadership in provincial politics.<sup>26</sup> The elder Carroll may well have had the commanding position of the Dulanys in mind when he advised his son to persist in legal studies; in any case, the events of the decade before the Revolution prove his advice to have been prophetic. The leaders of the Maryland opposition to the Stamp Act were lawyers, of whom Daniel Dulany and Samuel Chase were the most prominent, and lawyers were prominent in the resistance to the Townshend duties.<sup>27</sup> Lawyers seated in or

<sup>22</sup> See St. George Leakin Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720-1750, and the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXI (1903), nos. 6-7.

<sup>23</sup> Among the prominent lawyers who had holdings in the thousands of acres in the Maryland west were Charles Carroll, Barrister, Samuel Chase, Samuel Chew, and Thomas Johnson. Debt Books, Frederick County, 1771, Maryland Land Office.

<sup>24</sup> Bordley to William Hunt, Nov. 26, 1756, Stephen Bordley's Letterbook, 1756-59, Maryland Hist. Soc.

<sup>25</sup> Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson Letterbook, 1771-74, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.

<sup>26</sup> See Richard B. Morris, "Legalism *versus* Revolutionary Doctrine in New England", *New England Quarterly*, IV (1931), 200-201.

<sup>27</sup> Conway W. Sams and Elihu S. Riley, *The Bench and Bar of Maryland* (Chicago, 1901), I, 112, 180.

friendly to the house of delegates became the most advanced of the controversialists—Charles Carroll of Carrollton among them—who, between 1771 and 1773, attacked and largely demoralized the fee system and the unreformed Anglican establishment of proprietary Maryland. At the same time Daniel Dulany, councilor, official, and leader of the Maryland bar, was the most active defender of the proprietary interest.<sup>28</sup>

Such leadership did not fail, indeed, to evoke jealousy and objection, for the controversialists were accused of artifice and undue technicality of expression, as a modern reader of their arguments will be ready to understand.<sup>29</sup> But an apology for the liberal lawyers, which declared their high character and their devotion to the public interest, appropriately asked whether most of them had not “large landed and personal estates, even when they began their practice? ’Tis their native soil, they are connected by the tenderest ties of country, parents, children, relatives, friends”.<sup>30</sup> Thus Maryland moving into the Revolution presents the interesting phenomenon of lawyer leadership in political radicalism. It is reminiscent of the stand of Coke against James I,<sup>31</sup> and it anticipates the signing of the Declaration of Independence by the Maryland lawyers Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Closely kin to the legal-mindedness of squire and speculator, judge and assemblyman, was the political thinking of the province, concentrated in the house of delegates. The national conviction of Englishmen of the rightness and supremacy of constitutional government was as firmly held at Annapolis as at Westminster, and that conviction was iterated and reiterated in the resolutions and messages of the lower house. It found two characteristic types of expression. The first was an insistence that the rights of Englishmen to self-government, won by parliament and practiced in the mother country, were equally the rights of Marylanders acting in the provincial legislature. From the earliest period of assembly history, when a law was passed declaring that the members should have “power, priveledges, authority, and jurisdiction”

<sup>28</sup> See Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XVI (1898), nos. 7-9, chs. 4-8.

<sup>29</sup> “A Marylander”, *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (Philadelphia), Apr. 23, 1770. A half-century earlier the Anglican minister John Eversfield had satirized the lawyers, especially the elder Dulany. Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXI (1903), nos. 11-12, pp. 55-56.

<sup>30</sup> “A Planter” of Anne Arundel County, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 16, 1770.

<sup>31</sup> Tanner, p. 37; Edward S. Corwin, “The ‘Higher Law’ Background of American Constitutional Law”, *Harvard Law Review*, XLII (1928-29), 367-69.

like that of members of the house of commons in England, to the extreme pretensions to legislative supremacy made on the eve of the Revolution, the history of the assembly was punctuated by efforts to translate parliamentary precedents into assembly authority and power.<sup>32</sup> Parliamentary privilege, which had evolved in England from the judicial side of the history of parliament, was frequently used to justify an expansive view of the authority of the provincial legislature. Where the legislature could say that "the Chief end of all parliamentary priviledge is to apply properly for the Redress of Grievances that happen to the people" and from such a premise assert a number of particular powers, the notion of parliamentary rights had become a kind of dogma.<sup>33</sup> It fittingly expressed a century of assembly growth; it conformed nicely with the social position of the gentry who sat as delegates in the house.

The second way the assembly had of expressing its conviction of its own authority was through the use of the concept of natural law. This concept made it possible for the delegates to declare that their powers were inherent in the nature of things and for them to argue from higher grounds than the citation of parliamentary precedent. Thus in 1725, on the very day when the house made the claim of privilege quoted above, it also took the ground that, "It is we that are the people's representatives for whom all laws are made and human government established."<sup>34</sup> The spontaneity and the definiteness with which such principles were announced conforms with the ideas, which Professor Corwin has elaborated, that the concept of natural law was implicit in the thinking of Coke, and that those students of Coke, the first generation of the legal profession in America, applied his ideas and Locke's towards the expansion of the power of the legislature.<sup>35</sup> Yet such doctrine was not often invoked. The infrequency with which the delegates used it indicates the natural thing, namely, that the assembly led by precedent-loving lawyers, preferred the more conservative type of argument from parliamentary privilege and constitutional usage. On the other hand, the philosophical resource of natural law was well

<sup>32</sup> Acts of the Assembly, Mar., 1638/9, *Archives of Maryland*, 1, 75. For this reference I am indebted to the doctoral dissertation of Mary P. Clarke, "Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies", Yale University Library.

<sup>33</sup> Oct. 28, 1725, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXV, 360. Although the proprietor was never ready to admit the larger claims of the delegates, he did treat with them in the language of parliamentary traditions. See address of Charles, Lord Baltimore, Apr. 12, 1733, *ibid.*, XXXIX, 54.

<sup>34</sup> Oct. 28, 1725, *ibid.*, XXXV, 357.

<sup>35</sup> Corwin, *Harvard Law Rev.*, XLII, 175-76, 365-80, 393-98.

understood as early as the seventeen-twenties and thirties, and when used it was used hardly less boldly than at the time of the Revolution itself.

In 1729, when the lord proprietor had several times refused to permit a cherished bill to pass, the delegates took the high stand that an "ample and full Power of Legislation is lodged in this Province", and that the proprietor's right to veto acts of the assembly was itself subject to question.<sup>36</sup> In saying this, the lower house did not go quite as far as a flat denial of the right of the proprietor to disallow laws, as Patrick Henry in the Parson's Cause was to deny the right of the Crown, but the line of thought was quite as radical. The assumption that the people had a natural right to make their own laws might have been used to support a denial of the proprietary disallowance, as it was actually used to support an inquiry. It could not have been made to support acquiescence in the disallowance as a just practice of government.

The learning marshaled in support of the political thinking of the delegates is nowhere better illustrated than in the pamphlet of Daniel Dulany, the elder, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws*, which he brought out in Annapolis in 1728.<sup>37</sup> When Dulany wrote this treatise he was a young man, already a leading lawyer and delegate but not yet a preferred member of the inner circle of proprietary officeholders. The pamphlet supported the demand of the lower house for a statute which would bind the provincial judges, under oath, to do justice according to the "laws, statutes, and reasonable customs of England and the acts of Assembly and usage of the province of Maryland".<sup>38</sup> This proposal of the lower house has been spoken of by scholars as ill conceived because, if adopted, it would have bound the province in too great detail to the law of the mother country.<sup>39</sup> But however unsatisfactorily the oath might have operated, had it been enacted, Dulany's pamphlet amply shows that the commitment to English law was intended to liberate and not to restrict:

<sup>36</sup> Aug. 2, 1729, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXVI, 362-63.

<sup>37</sup> The pamphlet is reprinted as Appendix II in Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland*, pp. 79-104.

<sup>38</sup> This important dispute, which evoked so much political thought and feeling, is fully treated in Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland*. There are substantial accounts in John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland, from its Colonization to the Present Day* (Baltimore, 1831), pp. 112-28; in Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), pp. 257-77; and in Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), III, 26-31.

<sup>39</sup> Sioussat, in *The English Statutes in Maryland*, p. 62; and Clarke, in "Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies", Yale University Library.



“What I contend for [he said] is that we derive our right to British liberties and privileges as we are British subjects; that as such we have a right to all the laws, whether statute or common, which secure to the subject the right of the subject.”<sup>40</sup> As Dulany presented the case, the delegates had no thought that every parliamentary statute would be enforced in Maryland in the same detail as in England but only desired that the English principles imbedded in common law and statute law alike should be as thoroughly available in the provincial courts as at home.

Dulany’s plea had force because it incorporated the two traditions of political thought in Maryland. The treatise was, primarily, a lawyer’s case, to be established by the citation of precedent and practice, and as such it stood exactly in line with the delegates’ habit of insistence on parliamentary privilege and usage. Thus Dulany cited and quoted such primary documents of English constitutional history as Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the liberal statutes of the seventeenth century, and he quoted the provincial charter to prove that English law was also Maryland law. But he argued from philosophical as well as from legal grounds and on this side quoted some of the more abstract writings of Sir Edward Coke, portions of Locke’s *Second Treatise*, and, in a still larger perspective, the writings of Grotius, Pufendorf, Cato, and Caesar. He used the concept of the original equality of man to indicate that subjects in the colony had rights equal to those of subjects at home, and he followed Locke in the contract theory of the state. The argument, from both precedent and principle, was more sweeping than that to be used by the younger Dulany in his successful legalistic pamphlet against the Stamp Act, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on the British Colonies*. The plea of 1728 was definitely anticipatory of Thomas Jefferson’s radical *Summary View of the Rights of British America*, wherein it was again to be urged, at the moment of impending Revolution, that colonials had historical and natural rights to the full benefit of English freedom.

In the third, or religious, aspect of thought and feeling in lower Maryland there was no such vigor and coherence as in the political thinking. The Anglican clergymen, like the proprietary officeholders, were appointed by, or under the authority of, the lord proprietor. But unlike the high officials, the clergymen met no focus of criticism and opposition, no ecclesiastical house of laymen, comparable in the church

<sup>40</sup> Daniel Dulany, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (Annapolis, 1728), pp. 12-13.

to the house of delegates in the government. Religious conflict between authority and people was ordinarily decentralized, the business of the parishes, and only rarely sufficiently generalized to get a hearing at Annapolis.<sup>41</sup>

The essentially conservative position of the Church of England clergy is well illustrated by an order of the provincial council of 1733, which required that they should pray for the lord proprietor, the governor, and council at every service.<sup>42</sup> The fifth Lord Baltimore thought of the clergymen as stabilizers in political storms. He once wrote them that he "made no doubt of [their] good offices towards promoting a perfect understanding between the proprietor and his tenants; peace and harmony being the great characteristics of our mother church".<sup>43</sup> The conditions of the church were such as to discourage independence of thought and attitude. Appointments were, indeed, permanent, but as Jonathan Boucher testified, the better paid Maryland benefices were the most lucrative in America,<sup>44</sup> and the desire for advancement within the establishment was a compelling one. The eighteenth century proprietors, moreover, made many scandalous appointments leading to scandalous careers in the Maryland church, and for four decades before the Revolution there was no ecclesiastical authority to administer clerical discipline.

Yet some of the clergy lived admirable lives, in the best tradition of their church, and added to the intellectual life of their parishes. "God only knows", said the Reverend Thomas Bacon, who was to be the able compiler of the laws of the province, "the necessity of [a charity working school] in this province, where education is scarcely to be attained to, at any rate, by the children of the poor. . . . Many poor white children I have found (I speak from sad experience) and many more undoubtedly there are, as ignorant as the children of the poor benighted negroes".<sup>45</sup> Bacon failed with his charity school, but other clergymen

<sup>41</sup> In 1724-1725/6 and in 1768-1771, however, the assembly gave a great deal of attention to the abuses of the church. On the earlier affair see Upper House Journal, October 27, 31, 1724, and Lower House Journal, March 23, 1725-26, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXV, 39-40, 66, 482. On the later affair see Steiner, *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>42</sup> Apr. 10, 1733, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 30.

<sup>43</sup> Charles, Lord Baltimore to the clergy, about 1730, Calvert Papers, no. 295½, Maryland Hist. Soc.

<sup>44</sup> Boucher to Rev. M. James, Mar. 9, 1767, *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, VII (1912), 339-40; Jonathan Boucher, ed., *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789* (Boston, 1925), p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1915), I, 286.

succeeded in conducting private schools for young gentlemen, and a few, such as James Sterling and Thomas Cradock, achieved minor literary distinction.<sup>46</sup> The wits of the clergy were sharpened, also, by the competition of rival faiths, and they asked occasionally for support from home, especially for the gift of books, in their struggle against the opposition.<sup>47</sup> But sectarian rivalry in Maryland was not on such a basis as to evoke a theological or ethical literature. Catholicism, though entrenched among a number of old and established families, was non-controversial rather than controversial, as the prejudice of the colony required, especially at the time of the French and Indian war.<sup>48</sup> Quakerism was quiescent, and Presbyterianism was associated with the lower classes and with the outlying sections rather than the southern tidewater. There is no evidence that the Great Awakening caused more than a ripple of feeling in the southern counties.

Within the Church of England, though not outside, there were differences of feeling and belief which led to discussion and occasionally to literary product. Even before the mid-century there were many signs of skepticism having a devastating effect on the morale and faith of Maryland Anglicanism. In 1730 Commissary Lang preached a sermon to the clergymen of the eastern shore in which he presented the case of orthodoxy against deism and begged the ministers to preach the restoration of family worship among the people.<sup>49</sup> In 1750 Thomas Bacon wrote:

Infidelity has indeed arrived at an amazing and shocking growth in these parts. And it is hard to say whether it is more owing to the ignorance of the common people, the fancied knowledge of such as have got a little smattering of learning, or the misconduct of too many of the clergy. Religion among us seems to wear the face of the country, part moderately cultivated, the greater part wild and savage.<sup>50</sup>

Bacon and other ministers thought that the reading of the works of the English deists encouraged infidelity, and they mentioned especially Tindal's *Christianity as Old as Creation* and the *Independent Whig*.

<sup>46</sup> Wroth, *History of Printing*, pp. 193-94, 207; Wroth, "James Sterling: Poet, Priest, and Prophet of Empire", *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1931 (Worcester), new series, XLI (1932), 40-41, 48, 65-68.

<sup>47</sup> Hugh Jones to Bishop of London, July 30, 1739, William S. Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church* (4 vols., Hartford, 1870-78), IV, 321.

<sup>48</sup> The most recent and scholarly treatment of eighteenth century Catholicism in Maryland is to be found in Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1922), ch. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Sermon, June 24, 1730, Perry, *Historical Collections*, IV, 288-95.

<sup>50</sup> Bacon to Bishop of London, Aug. 4, 1750, *ibid.*, IV, 324.

an English magazine some issues of which had been reprinted in Philadelphia. Occasional contributed essays in the *Maryland Gazette* mirror the deist attitude,<sup>51</sup> and there is reason to think that Bacon's fear of skepticism among the common people was well taken. In his journal for 1773, Francis Asbury, the Methodist leader, speaks of coming to Annapolis "with some desire to preach" and of being offered the house of a tavernkeeper for a service. "But he was a Deist", the journal says, "and I did not feel free to open my mouth in his house"; nor did Asbury preach at all, because "the spirit and practice of the people" opposed him.<sup>52</sup>

Questions of church authority and organization, as well as of belief, evoked a certain amount of thought and controversy. There was not only a division in Maryland, as in the other colonies, over the question of establishing an Anglican episcopate in America but also a movement to set up parish autonomy in the selection of ministers. As early as 1725 the vestrymen of a church on the lower eastern shore made such a demand.<sup>53</sup> Success was impossible because established charter rights gave the presentation of benefices to the proprietor, but the idea persisted and evidently was encouraged by Presbyterian example and by the authority exercised by the Virginia parishes in the selection of their own ministers. The matter was opened in 1766, when a notorious clergyman died and his parish seized the initiative and invited Dr. Thomas Chandler, who was soon to become a leading writer in favor of an American episcopate, to come and preach for a trial period. His services pleased everyone, and the vestry and a number of other parishioners petitioned the governor to give him the induction. This the governor refused to do. With no apparent regard for the merits of the case, he inducted instead the rector of a neighboring church, a man of bad reputation.

The governor's action precipitated a miniature protestant reformation in Coventry parish. The vestry responded with an argument which cut beneath the ecclesiastical authority of the lord proprietor just as the radical declarations of the assembly cut beneath his political authority. The people, the vestry said, were the true founders of the church of Maryland, all powers of church government originally derived from them, and the powers they had delegated they could reclaim. A declaration based on the natural rights theory had, of course, no power

<sup>51</sup> Notably that of "Plain-Dealer", *Maryland Gazette*, Jan. 7, 1729.

<sup>52</sup> *Journal of Francis Asbury* (New York, 1852), I, 58, 60-61, 93.

<sup>53</sup> Seven vestrymen, Somerset parish, to Bishop of London, 1725, Fulham Palace Transcripts, Maryland, no. 206, Library of Congress.

to persuade the governor to abandon the proprietor's right of induction. But the vigor of parish protest did persuade the new appointee to remain in his old living, and Governor Sharpe named the Reverend Thomas Hughes, a man with a reputation as unsavory as the other two. Hughes secured from Daniel Dulany a legal opinion certifying his rights and otherwise disregarded the opposition. Yet even then the vestry said that they would never sacrifice "Freedom to Monarchy, but only desire that an Equilibrium may ever be the motto of every Englishman", and they declared that they would resist, with force if necessary, "as we presume by the Laws of God, Nature, and Man".<sup>54</sup> A few days before Christmas, 1767, the vestry, living up to the congregational polity they had enunciated, gathered a group of parishioners and asked them, as the possessors of ultimate sovereignty, whether or not they would grant an induction to the minister named by the governor. They voted that they would not, and the vote led to violence. There were a few months of recurrent outbreaks, and then the affair tapered off, apparently with passions cooled and certainly with the authority of the lord proprietor enforced. Yet in the history of provincial thought the important thing is not the loss of the battle of Coventry parish; it is rather the spontaneous and aggressive use of the social compact idea in behalf of a local interest, it is the transformation of the Church of England, in the minds of the members of one parish, from terms of traditional to terms of radical church theory—all of this by men far from Annapolis and from the educated inner circle of the governing class.

In coming to the final, or literary and general, aspect of Maryland thought, the question is less that of what intellectual positions the colonists propounded than the large area of thought in which they moved. In whatever degree they were readers and imitators of the English literature of their own century, the literature which Gibbon said breathed "the spirit of reason and liberty", or were concerned with the other emancipating currents of thought of the time, the political liberalism and the religious rationalism of Maryland may be thought of as growing in a friendly climate. Such matters are not easily ponderable, but in the upper class, at least, there can be little doubt that liberal influences supplied the tone and environment of every phase of thought and feeling. Considerable evidence, fragmentary indeed but in every instance consistent, reveals provincial minds sensitive to contemporary literature, fond of the seventeenth century English satirists, steeped in

<sup>54</sup> Council Proceedings, Apr. 29, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 229, 231. The early part of the case is reviewed in a letter from the Coventry vestry to Governor Sharpe, 1767. *ibid.*, XIV, 363-69.

the political lore of the ancient republics, and receptive to the ideas of the French *philosophes* and their predecessors.

A peculiarly intimate view of the spontaneous attitudes of representative members of the gentry is preserved in the records of the Tuesday Club, one of the half-dozen or more clubs which are known to have flourished in Annapolis during the fifty years before the Revolution. Ordinarily the mood was light and playful; the members amused themselves with puns, conundrums, mock trials, and rhymes in imitation of Butler's *Hudibras*. But an occasional item shows more serious thinking. In his contemporary "History of the Tuesday Club" Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a club leader, declared: "There is really but a trifling difference between the histories of the smallest Clubs and those of the greatest Empires and Kingdoms." He meant, he explained, that all men are made of the same indifferent stuff.

We find state politicians racking their Invention to bring about Certain Schemes, and still like a parcell of earth moles counter-mining and undermining one another; we find generals, or rather licensed banditty, leading forth great armies, pillaging and laying waste vast countries, burning towns and Cutting throats. . . . Can anything worse be said of clubs, whose members . . . go upon pursuits and schemes of a parallel and like Insignificant and ridiculous nature, for the bringing about purposes equally vain and transitory, though under a different class and denomination.<sup>55</sup>

The ironical mood, the will to freedom, the sense of history—common denominators of the great literature of the Enlightenment in France and England—flourished also in the Tuesday Club.

The reading and writing of the educated upper class also points to a lively concern with the secular and critical ideas of the century. Stephen Bordley, in the decades of the thirties and forties, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, in the sixties and seventies, carried on intellectual correspondences with friends with whom they discussed political ideas, especially in terms of Roman history.<sup>56</sup> They and other men of wealth and affairs owned, read, and discussed such works as Polybius's *Histories*, Rollin's *History of Rome*, Bayle's *Dictionary*, Harrington's *Oceana*, Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, and the histories of England by Rapin and Clarendon.

Early in the century a number of parochial libraries, established through the efforts of Dr. Thomas Bray, brought much religious ma-

<sup>55</sup> Dulany Papers, V, 16, Maryland Hist. Soc.

<sup>56</sup> Stephen Bordley's Letterbooks, 1738-40, 1740-47, especially the letters to M. Harris, Maryland Hist. Soc.; J. G. D. Paul, ed., "A Lost Copy Book of Charles Carroll of Carrollton", 1770-74, *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1937), 193-225.



terial, serviceable to Anglican belief, to Maryland. But in the dozen or more years before the Revolution libraries of a new type were launched, circulating libraries on a commercial basis.<sup>57</sup> They were assembled, in the hope of attracting many subscribers, according to the modern and secular tastes common among the gentry. Remarkable advertisements by the booksellers Rind and Aikman offered the public generous selections: classical works, mostly Roman, histories of recent times, political theory, scientific philosophy, English and some European literature of the sixteenth century and later, and contemporary English novels.<sup>58</sup> There were almost no works of orthodox religion offered.

The impact and influence of literature appears in a much more definite light from the evidence of writing than from the evidence of reading. The literary content of the *Maryland Gazette* has been elaborately discussed by other writers,<sup>59</sup> and little need be said except that, in the style set by the Franklins in the *New England Courant*, the Maryland paper printed many Addisonian essays and carried excerpts from and imitations of other favorite English authors, from Dryden and Butler to current figures. Some of the Maryland essayists achieved a high order of thought and expression; some were roughhewn as writers. Whether they were discussing politics, religion, taste, or manners, they all stood, without important exception, on the common ground of the eighteenth century rationalist view of the universe and man. The pietism of the outlying counties found no expression and had no equivalent in the columns of the *Maryland Gazette*.

As with the essayists who wrote for the newspaper, so it was, essentially, with all men of thought and expression in lower Maryland. The secular and critical moods of the Enlightenment bound the legalism,

<sup>57</sup> See the series of articles by J. T. Wheeler, "Booksellers and Circulating Libraries in Maryland", "Thomas Bray and the Maryland Parochial Libraries", "The Laymen's Libraries and the Provincial Library", *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (1939), 111-37, 246-65, XXXV (1940), 60-73.

<sup>58</sup> Long advertisements in *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1762, Nov. 11, 1773. Some of Rind's offerings (1762), in the order of the heads listed above, were: Dryden's *Virgil*, Pope's *Homer*, writings by Cicero, Livy, and Seneca; Montesquieu's *Greatness and Decline of the Romans*; Robertson's *Scotland* and *Charles the Fifth*; Harrington's *Oceana*, Vattel's *Law of Nations*; Burnet's *Theory of the Earth*, Derham's *Physics and Astro-theology*; Shakespeare's plays, the epics of Milton, *Don Quixote*; the novels of Smollett and Fielding. There were also many essays, from the *Spectator* papers to the *Rambler* of Johnson.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Christine Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, 1704-1750* (New York, 1912), ch. 6; Wroth, *History of Printing*, especially pp. 63-69; Martha C. Howard, "The *Maryland Gazette*: An American Imitation of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*", *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, XXIX (1934), 295-98.

the liberalism, the skepticism, and the literary values of the gentlemen of the province into one intellectual whole. The piety of John Carroll, the Jesuit and future first American Catholic bishop, suggests, indeed, that there must have been others, of the same high social class as his family, who stood where he stood, apart from the prevailing currents of liberal thought.<sup>60</sup> But the silence of piety in the public record adds accent to the predominance of secular and liberal influences. The protest of Coventry parish suggests, as plainly as resistance to the Stamp Act, that liberal convictions reached downward from the readers of Coke and Locke, Montesquieu and Fielding, to the level of the common consciousness of the province. Such convictions help to account for the revolutionary impulse in Maryland. Their association with the intellectual leadership of the upper class suggests a reason why men of great property were able to take and keep the reins of government even while the Revolution transformed the province into the state.

CHARLES A. BARKER.

*Stanford University.*

<sup>60</sup> Guilday thinks that the lack of Catholic piety on the side of the family represented by Charles Carroll of Carrollton may account for the coolness between that side and the side represented by John Carroll. *Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 4.

## THE STATE OF NATURE AND THE DECLINE OF LOCKIAN POLITICAL THEORY IN ENGLAND.

1760-1800

IN 1690, when Locke published his *Two Treatises of Government*, he stated the theory of natural rights in the form in which it dominated English political theory for the next seventy years. By 1800 the theory of natural rights had lost virtually all its English adherents. Its place was taken by various forms of utilitarianism, especially the utilitarianisms of Burke, Paley, and Bentham.<sup>1</sup> There were, of course, many causes affecting the decline of the vogue of the theory of natural rights. Ethical ideas lying at the base of political thought changed and caused political ideas to change with them. The exigencies of new political situations called forth new ideas and new attitudes toward old ideas. In this paper we are concerned with the change which the conception of the "state of nature" underwent during the course of the century and with the effect of this change on English political theory. During the seventeenth century the state of nature had come to be the regular starting point for the political theorist in his description of the law of nature and its relation to political government. The various states of nature of the seventeenth century writers had been alike in that they were primarily abstract and juristic. Whatever sociological or historical detail they possessed was secondary. In the eighteenth century the conceptions of the state of nature tended to become less abstract and more historical, less juristic and more sociological. The juristic

<sup>1</sup> Although the general nature of the change is well known, the history of the process by which it came about has never been fully told. Books like William Archibald Dunning's *History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu* (New York, 1905) and *History of Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer* (New York, 1933), F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Social and Political Ideas of Some English Thinkers of the Augustan Age, 1650-1750* (London, 1928), and *Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Revolutionary Era* (London, 1931), and C. E. Vaughan's *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy before and after Rousseau* (London, 1925) describe the "political thought" of various writers more or less *in vacuo*, but they do not trace the history of political ideas through the century. Elie Halévy's *La formation du radicalisme philosophique* (Paris, 1901-1904) traces the development of Bentham's utilitarianism, but Halévy touches on other forms of utilitarianism only incidentally. Moreover, he does not deal with the decline of the vogue of the theory of natural rights, as this lies outside the scope of his book. Since this decline is the reverse side of the development of utilitarianism, its place in the history of eighteenth century political thought is of equal importance.

conception of the state of nature upon which Locke based his political theory was displaced by a historical conception of the state of nature, such as Rousseau's *Second Discourse* (1755) described or was believed to describe.

The effect of this on English political theory was threefold. Writers who belonged to the tradition of Locke were forced to modify their theory to suit the historical conception of the state of nature. Writers who opposed the theory of Locke used the new conception of the state of nature to attack the theory of natural rights. Finally, many writers, reacting against the historical conception of the state of nature, and especially against Rousseau's state of nature in the *Second Discourse*, denied that there ever was a prepolitical or primitive state of nature as opposed to civil society.

In tracing these developments our starting point must be a brief analysis of Locke's conception of the state of nature and its part in his political theory. We must then describe Rousseau's conception of the state of nature in the *Second Discourse*, both because it was the most ambitious attempt to picture a historical state of nature in some detail, and because it was especially influential in provoking a reaction against the state of nature as a political concept. Next we must consider a group of English critics of the *Second Discourse* who gave currency to the rejection of the state of nature. Finally, we must show how the new conception of the state of nature was used by the political controversialists in England during the latter part of the century.

#### LOCKE AND ROUSSEAU

Locke's state of nature was highly abstract. It was not a state which existed at any particular time or place. It was not the first stage in the cultural development of mankind. It was not necessarily a primitive state. It was merely the state in which all men exist who are not subject to political government. It was a natural state in that it was contrasted with artificial government, but it was not a state from which other artificial, *i.e.*, man-made, developments were excluded. Locke's state of nature was a juristic state which he used for the purpose of explaining the relationship between the law of nature and natural rights on the one hand, and civil law and civil rights on the other. According to the law of nature, Locke said, men have certain equal rights which they enjoy in the state of nature. For example, they have the right to do anything which tends to their self-preservation as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. But, Locke reasoned,

individual men in the state of nature cannot enjoy their natural rights because of the interference of other stronger individuals. There is no power to enforce the law of nature. Hence men join together in the social contract to form civil society. They give up their natural right of administering the law of nature, in return for which they receive the protection of society in the enjoyment of their other natural rights. Such in briefest outline is Locke's conception of the state of nature and its relation to his political theory as a whole.

The conception of the state of nature which we find in the *Second Discourse*, published sixty-five years later, in 1755, reflects certain highly significant developments in the history of thought, developments in what may be called sociological knowledge. The *Second Discourse* reflects the conception of history as a growth in which certain stages may be described. It reflects the new interest in studying man with the help of the descriptions of primitive man in the extensive travel literature of the day. As a result, Rousseau's state of nature is conceived as an actual historical condition, the condition in which man must have originally existed.<sup>2</sup> The state of nature, Rousseau tells us, was the state of man as he came from the hands of nature, possessing none of those attributes which he acquired in any way as a part of his later development. Consequently, if we are to see man as he originally and naturally was, it is necessary to strip off all the accretions of time and art.<sup>3</sup> When we do this, we find that man is merely a brutish animal. His only care is self-preservation. His existence is purely sensual; he can perceive and feel, but he cannot think. He lives alone, and having no one to talk to, he cannot speak. He is entirely free from all passions. His chief characteristics are *pesanteur* and *stupidité*. Needless to say, he knows nothing of even the most rudimentary technical arts. He eats acorns and sleeps beneath the oak.<sup>4</sup> This is pure nature without any art. The antithesis of nature and art is complete.

#### THE ENGLISH CRITICS OF THE *Second Discourse*

The *Second Discourse* did not enjoy a friendly reception across the Channel. The characteristic British reaction was to label Rousseau's

<sup>2</sup> The analytical function of Rousseau's state of nature is similar to that of Locke's, but his assumption that it was man's earliest historical state determined its character for him. Once he wavers in this view, admitting that his state of nature may never have existed (*Oeuvres*, ed. Hachette, Paris, 1909-14, I, 79), but he explicitly asserts its historicity several times (*ibid.*, pp. 81, 83, 84, 85), and the whole tenor of his argument implies this view.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79, 82, and 83.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

state of nature absurd and to deny the antithesis of nature and art. Before going on to the political writers with whom we are directly concerned, let us stop to consider this reaction as exhibited in the writings of William Kenrick, John Gordon, John Brown, and, most important, Adam Ferguson. The significance of these four writers for us is, first, that they showed what the reaction to the *Second Discourse* was likely to be in England, second, that they gave currency to the rejection of the antithesis of nature and art, and finally, that they were a link between the *Second Discourse* and English political theorists. Rousseau provoked these writers to a rejection of any state of nature which was opposed to a developed condition of human society. They adopted the Aristotelian position that the nature of anything is its perfected condition and that therefore there is no antithesis between nature and art.<sup>5</sup> Applied to the state of nature, this meant that man's original or primitive condition was no more natural than political society. These critics of the *Second Discourse* were by no means the first to reject the antithesis of nature and art, for such notable writers as Shaftesbury, Hume, and Burlamaqui had already rejected the antithesis specifically in connection with political theory.<sup>6</sup> Shakespeare and Bishop Berkeley had attacked the antithesis in well-known texts.<sup>7</sup> But the English critics of the *Second Discourse* gave new prominence to the antithesis and to the state of nature at a time when English political theory was entering a period of rapid transition.

William Kenrick was the first of these writers. In his versified *Epistles Philosophical and Moral* (1759), he attacks Rousseau directly:

<sup>5</sup> See *Politics*, I, 2, 1252-53 (trans. Benjamin Jowett, Oxford, 1921): "When several villages are united in a single community, large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life. And therefore, if the earlier forms of society are natural, so is the state, for it is the end of them, and the nature of a thing is its end. For what each thing is when fully developed, we call its nature, whether we are speaking of a man, a horse, or a family. Besides, the final cause and end of a thing is the best, and to be self-sufficing is the end and the best. Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal." See also *Physics*, II, 8, 199a (trans. R. P. Hardie and R. K. Gaye, Oxford, 1930) and *De partibus animalium*, I, 1, 639b and 641b (trans. William Ogle, Oxford, 1911).

<sup>6</sup> See Shaftesbury, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, ed. by J. M. Robertson (London, 1900), II, 81-83; Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. by L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1888), p. 484, and *Enquiries concerning the Human Understanding and concerning the Principles of Morals*, section 258, ed. by L. A. Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1902), p. 307; and Burlamaqui, *The Principles of Politic Law*, trans. T. Nugent (London, 1752), pp. 19-20, and p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 79-100; *Alciphron: Or the Minute Philosopher*, I, xiv, in *Works of George Berkeley* (Oxford, 1871), II, 48-51.



Let rash polemicks idly prate  
 Of *nature* and a *nat'ral* state,  
 The arts of social life despise,  
 And think that brutes are only wise;  
 Pretending better had it been  
 If kings and priests we ne'er had seen;  
 If lawless, ignorant and wild,  
 Man had been left, while yet a child,  
 With brutes to share a common fate;  
 More blest than in his present state:  
 Go thou, and act a social part  
 Man's *nat'ral* state's a state of art.  
 'Twas *nature*, when the world was young,  
 Unloos'd our first, great grandsire's tongue . . .  
 'Twas *nature* gave religion's rule,  
 And bade the wise conduct the fool. . . .  
 All this you artificial call,  
 I heed not empty terms at all.  
 Call it by whatsoever name,  
 'Tis *human nature's* special claim.  
 Say, from mere phrases to depart,  
 How differs nature here from art? . . .  
 'Twas nature knowledge did impart,  
 Which time has ripen'd into *art*:  
 But call it art, or what you will,  
 'Tis nature, human nature still.<sup>8</sup>

This line of reasoning is re-enforced in a long footnote, where Rousseau is taken to task by name. After quoting the notorious dictum, "l'homme qui médite est un animal dépravé", Kenrick asks, how came man to think and to be united in society if not naturally? "If by inclination", he answers, "nature evidently prescribed it; if by the necessities peculiar to their species, a state of society was not only prescribed but enforced by nature."<sup>9</sup> In 1762 Kenrick reviewed the first English translation of the *Second Discourse* in the *Monthly Review*, reiterating the same views and quoting from his own *Epistles* the passage given above.<sup>10</sup>

John Gordon's rejection of the antithesis of nature and art and of the original or primitive state of nature occurs in the third part of his *New Estimate of Manners and Principles* (1761). This part is entitled "Of happiness; in which some principles of Mr. Rousseau are examined". Gordon says that Rousseau attributed all man's ills to his desertion of "that simple, uniform, and solitary manner of living"

<sup>8</sup> *Epistles Philosophical and Moral* (London, 1759), pp. 322-26.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> XXVI (1762), 331-42. For the attribution of this review to Kenrick see Benjamin Christie Nangle, *The Monthly Review . . . Indexes of Contributors and Articles* (Oxford, 1934), p. 189.

which nature had prescribed.<sup>11</sup> But why should this primitive state be called the state of nature? Such a condition was probably man's earliest state, but it is absurd to suppose that nature meant man to remain in that condition. She has not only furnished the means, but she has imposed on man the necessity of growing out of that state. Moreover, even if it be granted that the original state was the best in respect to man's body, it must be remembered that man's better part, the intellectual, is the determining part. What is natural to man's mind is continual progress: "If, lastly, one part of this Being's nature is so formed, as to be capable of an increase of perfection, from the mere exertion of it's own inherent power; it must of consequence follow, that the happiness of such a Being will be in a state of continual progression from less to greater."<sup>12</sup> There is no stage of man's development to which nature did not direct him, and consequently none is unnatural: "Every different state then, which mankind have either passed through, or at present make their appearance in, has almost an equal claim to the title of *a state of nature*: since it can have been nothing but nature, in one sense or another, which has placed them there."<sup>13</sup> Gordon's faith in future progress leads him to assert that if any one state deserves to be called the state of nature rather than another, it is the golden age of the future, toward which man is progressing.

While Gordon does not set out to expound a political theory in the *New Estimate*, his belief that man's natural state is a state of progress leads him into a highly significant criticism of Locke's theory of the social contract. Gordon was imbued with the conception of the gradual and progressive growth of human institutions, and he found the idea of a government springing full-fledged from a contract quite uncongenial. He conceived of government as introduced in a very imperfect form to meet the necessary exigencies of social life and as gradually improved by the application of the arts and sciences:

How Necessity does its business, we are all well aware—in a very rough and uncouth manner. The governments it introduced, were such, we may

<sup>11</sup> *A New Estimate of Manners and Principles: Being a Comparison between Ancient and Modern Times, in the Three Great Articles of Knowledge, Happiness, and Virtue: both with respect to Mankind at large, and to this Kingdom in Particular* (Cambridge, 1760, 1761), II, 118.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119. Gordon's book was reviewed by William Rose in the *Monthly Review*, XXV (1762), 361-68. The review is unfavorable except for Rose's approbation of Gordon's criticism of Rousseau's conception of the state of nature. Rose laughs at Rousseau's "whimsical notion" that savage man "in the true state of nature" is happier than civilized man. For the attribution of this review to Rose see Nangle, p. 164.

suppose, as served, in some degree, to repress injuries; to keep savages in order: but it is owing to Arts and Sciences, that they are become such at length, as rational creatures may with pleasure submit to, without regretting the loss of that original liberty, which, whatever Mr. *Rousseau* may say in praise of it, could never be designed for man to continue in: if it was, nature did her work most bunglingly, that it should be necessary so soon to mend it.<sup>14</sup>

The implications of such a passage as this all point toward a utilitarian theory of government. When Rousseau made the state of nature man's actual original condition, he opened the way for an attack on Locke's conception of the contract as well as on the antithesis of nature and art. Gordon's rejection of the antithesis goes hand in hand with his attack on the social contract.

John Brown's criticism of Rousseau's state of nature is to be found in his *Thoughts on Civil Liberty, on Licentiousness, and Faction* (1765). In Brown's opinion the natural liberty of the savage solitary man of the state of nature will generally lead to a "full and unbounded prosecution of all his appetites", a condition far worse than that of the brutes. He argues that this condition is contrary to nature because it prevents the use of those faculties with which man is peculiarly endowed. Society alone gives man's powers free scope, and therefore society is natural to man. After society grows up, new wants arise, and the need for mutual assistance and co-operative effort appears. But this is all the result of man's faculties. Along with the new desires there will come clashing interests and disagreements. These must be settled by such laws as will force the will of each individual to yield to "the common good of all". This beneficial restraint constitutes civil liberty, and its purpose is altogether utilitarian: "Every natural Desire which might in any respect be inconsistent with the general weal, is given up as a voluntary tax, paid for the higher, more lasting, and more important *Benefits*, which we reap from social Life."<sup>15</sup> It is noteworthy that it is natural desires, rather than natural rights, which are given up for the good of the whole. And there is no mention of a contract.

A writer of greater significance than either Kenrick, Gordon, or

<sup>14</sup> *A New Estimate*, II, 41, n.

<sup>15</sup> *Thoughts on Civil Liberty, on Licentiousness, and Faction* (Newcastle, 1765), pp. 12-13. Brown's utilitarian political theory is a natural development from his utilitarian ethical theory. For example, see his definition of virtue in his *Essays on the Characteristics* (1751) as quoted by L. A. Selby-Bigge in his *British Moralists . . . of the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1897), II, 208: ". . . Virtue: Which is no other than 'the Conformity of our affections with the public Good.' Or 'the voluntary Production of the greatest Happiness.'"

Brown was Adam Ferguson, who held the chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh from 1764 to 1785. His political thought is contained in his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and his *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792), the latter comprising the substance of his lectures at Edinburgh. We need concern ourselves only with the former, since the *Principles* affirms and amplifies the earlier book's position with regard to the state of nature.<sup>16</sup> The *Essay* begins with an attack on the method which many writers, presumably Hobbes and Rousseau among others, had used in their researches on man. Ferguson's first criticism is that such writers base their conclusions on a priori grounds, reasoning back from their conceptions of what human nature is to an alleged state of nature, which has in fact never existed. In every other branch of natural history the historian is obliged to collect the facts, not to build his account on his own presuppositions. The study of mankind should be no exception to this rule. In the second place, such a method is based on the false assumption that to get a true picture of human nature it is necessary to see man in his original state, stripped of all the accretions of artificial development. On the contrary, Ferguson maintains the proper place to view human nature is in its ordinary environment, as it is known to us from experience and history. Human nature is always essentially the same, and nothing is to be gained by neglecting human nature as we find it today in favor of studying an original state of nature of which we know nothing. He remarks that the vogue of this mode of reasoning has gone to such lengths that animals resembling men have been proposed as "the model of our nature in its original state", and he directs the reader to the *Second Discourse* in a footnote.<sup>17</sup>

This error in method, he goes on to say, arises from the alleged antithesis of nature and art. "We speak of art as distinguished from nature; but art itself is natural to man."<sup>18</sup> It is part of man's nature to invent and contrive, and he is continually struggling to improve his lot. This factor of human behavior is constant, appearing in the inhabitant of a cave as well as in the lord of a palace. If it be granted that man has

<sup>16</sup> In the *Principles* Ferguson develops a complete system of political theory. It is essentially a restatement of Locke's political theory with the omission of the state of nature. At the date of its publication (1792) it was outside of the main current of English political thought, and for that reason we shall not consider it here. Ferguson's political theory as a whole is discussed in H. V. S. Ogden, *The Rejection of the Antithesis of Nature and Art in English Political Writings, 1760-1800*, unpublished University of Chicago dissertation, 1936, pp. 25-31.

<sup>17</sup> *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (6th ed., London, 1793), p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

the desire and the faculties of self-improvement, it is absurd to say that he has left the state of nature whenever he begins to use the faculties which nature has given him. The truth is that whatever man does is natural to him in this sense, and the state of nature exists equally at all times and places, in Great Britain as well as at the Straits of Magellan.<sup>19</sup>

THE RADICALS: THE 1770'S

We are now ready to consider the effect of these ideas on English political theory itself. For convenience the political writers of our period may be divided into two main groups, the radicals and the antiradicals.<sup>20</sup> The radicals were of course the proponents of the theory of natural rights, although they differed from Locke in various matters. In practical politics their objectives were parliamentary reform and annual elections of members of parliament. They were the friends of liberty and sympathized heartily with the American and French revolutions.

The most important radical writer for us was Jackson Barwis, whose *Three Dialogues concerning Liberty* appeared in 1776.<sup>21</sup> This book contains both a critique of the antithesis of nature and art, ultimately if not directly provoked by the *Second Discourse*, and a scheme of political theory based on the rejection of the antithesis. Published in the same year as Richard Price's famous *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, it was too late to be a causal influence on the contemporary radical thought of which it was a part. It makes explicit, however, what we might otherwise infer, namely, the connection between the reaction against the historical state of nature, especially as described by Rousseau, and the revision of the Lockian tradition to suit the rejection of the antithesis.

In the first dialogue Barwis lays the ethical foundation for his political theory. His ethics are based on certain "laws of nature", which he derives from such fundamental human impulses as the love between the sexes, the love of offspring, the love of "other more distant relatives", and upon the feelings of humanity, generosity, and benevolence common to all mankind. "All those kind propensities", he asks, "why may

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>20</sup> The term *radical* is here used in its original political sense to designate the proponents of political reform in the direction of democracy. It should not be confused in meaning with *socialistic* or *communist*. *Radical* is both more accurate and has a broader historical justification than the only alternative term, *Lockian*.

<sup>21</sup> London, 1776. There were of course earlier publications reflecting the current of radical ideas, notably Joseph Priestley's *Essay on the First Principles of Government* (London, 1768). Priestley mentions the state of nature, but it plays only a negligible part in his political thought.

we not call them *true and natural* laws of our nature?"<sup>22</sup> The laws of nature, he says, tell man that he ought to obey his unselfish instincts.

In the second dialogue Barwis discusses the state of nature and the antithesis of nature and art. He asserts that the state of nature is not a prepolitical state in which men live apart from each other, "notwithstanding the discovery of a wild boy or two".<sup>23</sup> It makes no difference whether we consider man in his most "savage and uncultivated state" or in his most "refined and polished", or in any intermediate state. Man is always in his natural state provided he lives in conformity to the laws of his nature. It is customary, Barwis continues, to regard the most primitive state of human existence as the state of nature, supposing man to be more natural as his condition approaches more nearly that of the animals. But this assumption disregards the distinguishing characteristic of the human race, namely, the powers of the mind. Nothing could be more unnatural for man than to live without using his intellect. On the contrary it is natural for man "to form plans of government, and to invent the useful and ornamental arts of life".<sup>24</sup> Man is impelled by nature to improve his lot and to progress from a rude to a civilized state. Consequently it is a great mistake to believe that men are no longer in their natural state after they have formed a government.

To drive the matter home, Barwis causes the first speaker to bring up a further difficulty. Government, he says, is accounted a work of art. How then can it be called natural? The answer is that the art by which good government is formed and conducted is in accordance with the laws of nature, and that therefore it is natural. But to get to the root of the matter, it is useless to distinguish between what man effects by instinct and what he does by conscious skill, because art springs inevitably out of human nature and hence is natural to man: "it is impossible to consider the wants and desires of man, and the nature, extent, and capacity of the human mind, and not to perceive that the *natural* result must be art. . . . Art must therefore, in this sense, be *natural* to man".<sup>25</sup> With this the first speaker is completely satisfied.

Barwis now proceeds to develop his political theory in a way which shows clearly how the rejection of the antithesis of nature and art and of the state of nature affected the Lockian tradition. In the first place he attacks Locke's conception of the contract. Government, he says, did not originate in a contract made by men in a state of nature but arose gradually and naturally as men found need for it. There never was

<sup>22</sup> *Three Dialogues concerning Liberty* (London, 1776), pp. 17-18.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.



such a contract. Government is, however, founded on an implied contract which may be inferred from the purpose for which government exists, namely, "the general good or happiness".<sup>26</sup> Thus Barwis's criticism of Locke's conception of the contract leads him into a frankly utilitarian position.

In the second place Barwis's rejection of the state of nature enables him to meet one of the major objections of the antiradicals to the radical version of the theory of natural rights. As we shall see, the antiradicals often admitted that men possessed natural rights in the state of nature, but they denied that men retained such rights in civil society. Hinging their argument on the difference between Locke's juristic state of nature and a primitive historical state of nature like Rousseau's, they maintained that the rights of primitive men in a savage and solitary state of nature have no connection whatever with the civil rights of political society. In order to meet this criticism, Barwis asserts that the state of nature includes the state of political society and that government is natural to man. Hence, he reasons, the law of nature and the natural rights derived from it are valid in political society. The natural rights springing out of the laws of nature cannot be relinquished as a part of the tacit contract underlying political society. It follows that all civil laws, to be valid, must be consonant with the laws of nature:

Civil laws were instituted to enforce obedience to the true laws of human nature. Therefore civil laws, which contradict or are repugnant to the true laws of human nature, are not *in conscience* binding. And all civil laws, and all civil magistracies, ought to be formed, altered and corrected, confirmed or abolished, according as they agree with, or are repugnant to, the true laws of human nature.<sup>27</sup>

This is the doctrine toward which Barwis had been working from the beginning of the first dialogue, and for which he had undertaken the refutation of the antithesis of nature and art.

The remainder of the second dialogue is filled with certain corollaries of Barwis's doctrine of natural rights. The power of the magistrates is derived wholly from the people, and the people retain the power both to designate how the magisterial power shall be used and to recall it altogether. Whenever a government fails to attain its end of protecting natural rights, it should be discarded and a new one set up in its place.<sup>28</sup> In stating such conclusions as these, Barwis was merely asserting the popular beliefs of the radical movement.

Barwis differed from the other radical writers, however, in that he

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.      <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82. The third dialogue is on religious liberty and does not concern us.

was interested in basing his principles of political action on a speculative foundation. The other radicals were chiefly concerned with immediate political reform, introducing political theory only incidentally into their arguments. They did not try to show that natural rights belong to civil man as well as to natural man because civil society is natural to man. They met the antiradical argument by relegating the state of nature to the background or passing it over in silence and by asserting that natural rights are inseparable from human nature. They stressed the inalienability of natural rights, insisting that natural rights are the basis of man's civil rights and that nothing can render them invalid.

Thus Matthew Robinson-Morris, the second Baron Rokeby, makes inalienable natural rights an important part of his defense of the American colonies, but he completely ignores the state of nature. He declares that the "primary, essential, inherent rights of human nature" are bestowed upon man by God, and that nothing can take them from man.<sup>29</sup> Another radical writer, Granville Sharp, likewise takes the inalienability of natural rights for granted in his defense of the American colonies. He appeals to self-evident truths in much the same way as Locke had done, but he does not introduce the state of nature. On the contrary, he claims that since natural rights are clear to the reason and common sense of everyone, every man has a right to judge for himself in political controversies in which natural rights are at stake.<sup>30</sup> His application of this principle to the American quarrel shows how far he was from admitting any discrepancy between natural rights and civil society.

The most widely read radical pamphlet of the period of the American Revolution was Richard Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty* (1776).<sup>31</sup> Price devotes the theoretical parts of his argument mainly to a discussion of liberty, and in his discussion he takes natural rights for granted without explaining them. He makes clear, however, his conception of natural rights as universal and inalienable rights in a section entitled "Of the Authority of one Country over another". He protests vigorously against the notion that a state may acquire authority over a foreign country by a compact or a cession of

<sup>29</sup> *Considerations on the Measures carrying on with respect to the British Colonies in North America* (London printed, Boston reprinted, 1774), p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> *A Declaration of the People's Natural Right to a Share in the Legislature; which is the Fundamental Principle of the British Constitution of State* (London, 1774), p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> According to the *British Museum Catalogue*, Price's pamphlet went through eleven London editions in the first year of its publication as well as one in Dublin and three in America.

natural rights. Such compacts, he argues, are not binding, for civil liberty cannot be surrendered: "Such a cession, being inconsistent with the inalienable rights of human nature, would either not bind at all; or bind only the individuals who make it."<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, if men have lost their inalienable rights through such a cession, they may always resume them whenever opportunity offers. There is no reference to the state of nature.

The *Observations* provoked numerous answers,<sup>33</sup> and in the following year Price published his *Additional Observations* in self-defense. Here he takes up the meaning of "the natural equality of mankind" and uses the state of nature as a part of his exposition. He speaks of the state of nature in the present tense and is clearly thinking of a purely juristic state like that of Locke. He uses it, however, only as a device by which he may illustrate clearly certain moral relationships, such as that between master and servant and the like. No man, he says, "is constituted by the author of nature the vassal or subject of another".<sup>34</sup> Hence it follows that all men are naturally equal, and equality is one of man's essential rights. "Mankind came with these rights from the hands of their Maker", he asserts, possibly paraphrasing Rousseau's dictum in the *Second Discourse*. Price, however, does not conclude that man gave up his natural right to equality on entering civil society. On the contrary, he says that all governments which do not maintain man's natural equality are founded on a false principle because they imply that some men have an inherent right to rule others. Thus he uses the Lockian state of nature where it suits his purpose, but he does not give it an essential part in his argument. He is at one with the great majority of radicals in focusing his attention on inalienable natural rights.

On the whole the new emphasis which the radicals placed on the inalienability of natural rights may be said to have sprung from two main causes. The first was their desire to support practical reform measures with appeals to natural rights. The second was their desire to obviate the criticism that natural rights are valid only in the state of nature and therefore afford no criterion for political action in civil society. How important this criticism was in the eyes of their opponents we shall see in turning to the antiradicals.

<sup>32</sup> *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America* (7th ed., London, 1776), p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> A list of these is given in Ogden, pp. 161-64.

<sup>34</sup> *Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty, and the War with America* (London, 1777), p. 21.

## THE ANTIRADICALS WHO ACCEPTED THE STATE OF NATURE: THE 1770's

The antiradicals of our period presented more carefully thought out and more variegated analyses of political theory than the radicals. Most of them fall into two classes, according to their attitude toward the state of nature. Those in the first class maintained that the state of nature was an actual historical condition, prior to and distinct from civil society. They adopted the antithesis of nature and art either explicitly or by implication. They were the writers against whom Barwis directed his defense of the theory of natural rights. The writers of the second class rejected the antithesis of nature and art and denied that the state of nature ever existed. Both classes, however, agreed that the appeal to natural rights in civil society is invalid.

The most complete statement of the position of the first class of antiradicals is to be found in Joseph Wimpey's reply to Barwis, *Letters occasioned by Three Dialogues concerning Liberty* (1777). His position is precisely opposite to that of Barwis. He maintains that the state of nature was a state in which man was entirely independent of government. "A man who is in submission to, or a subject of civil government", he declares, "can no more be said to be in his natural state, than a man that is cooped up in a room of a house, can be said to be ranging unbounded fields and groves at his own pleasure."<sup>35</sup> He proceeds to consider the relations of nature and art in general and concludes that art is quite unnatural to man. The works of nature, he says, are simple, uniform, "ever effectual to the intended purpose, and always answer to some valuable end".<sup>36</sup> On the contrary the works of art are characterized by an infinite variety; they are often "lame, weak, and inadequate". "Often indeed inimical to human nature, and the scourge and curse of mankind", he exclaims. This, however, is not his view of the relative merit of nature and art in the field of political thought:

"That man in a savage or uncultivated state is *in the lowest* and least improved state of human nature," is true, and therefore he may be truly said to be in his simple, original, genuine natural state. But as soon as he enters into society, submits to its laws, instructions are given, arts take place, knowledge and improvement succeed, every step he takes carries him from

<sup>35</sup> *Letters occasioned by Three Dialogues concerning Liberty; wherein the Author's Doctrine respecting the State of Nature, is shewn repugnant to Nature; to which are added Remarks on Dr. Price's Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty* (London, 1777), p. 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

his natural state, and as he improves in one, he is constantly receding from the other.<sup>37</sup>

Wimpey's conviction seems to be that although art is both good and bad, on the whole it is far better than nature, especially in its political manifestations.

The result of his insistence on the antithesis of nature and art is that he denies the validity of the appeal to natural rights by members of civil society. He asserts that men's rights in civil society are not determined by their previous natural rights but by the laws of the state:

Men may amuse themselves with ideas of natural, inherent, inalienable rights, as much as they please; but in a civil or political state, individuals possess no such rights any further than they are compatible with the laws of the state. They cannot oppose their separate wills and private judgments, to the will and judgment of the state, but in all things must submit thereto; even supposing its judgment and will should be founded in error.<sup>38</sup>

In the fifty-page "Postscript", directed against Price's *Additional Observations*, he couples Barwis and Price in his attack on the radical position. He accuses them of making the mistake of confusing the rights of society with those of nature in their arguments for civil reform: "Like the Author of the Three Dialogues on Liberty, I think he [Dr. Price] confounds Natural Liberty with Civil Liberty, making the rights of men in the latter state precisely the same as in the former, whereas they are as essentially different, as freedom from bondage."<sup>39</sup>

Wimpey was like Barwis in that he was the only writer of his group to consider the existence of the state of nature explicitly and to argue for the antithesis of nature and art. The other antiradicals who accepted the state of nature tacitly accepted the antithesis of nature and art without an explicit discussion of the general relationship of the two abstractions. They assumed that man had natural rights in his original primitive state of nature, but they denied that he brought them with him into society. John William Fletcher states the argument very clearly in his *American Patriotism farther confronted with Reason, Scripture, and the Constitution* (1776) and attributes Price's view to the influence of Rousseau:

It will be proper here to trace back to its source the error about liberty, which Dr. Price has adopted from *Rousseau*, the great Geneva patriot: A fatal error this, by which that fanciful politician has kindled the flame of discord in his own country. This error consists in inferring, that, because a

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

savage, who lives alone in a wood, is his own governor, and can legislate for himself; a man, who lives in civil society can do the same.<sup>40</sup>

#### THE ANTIRADICALS WHO REJECTED THE STATE OF NATURE: THE 1780's

We now come to the antiradicals of the second group, those who attacked the theory of natural rights by rejecting the antithesis of nature and art and by denying the existence of the state of nature. In the 1780's Soame Jenyns made the clearest statement of this position.<sup>41</sup> Edmund Burke, Richard Hey, and an anonymous Irish writer

<sup>40</sup> *American Patriotism farther confronted with Reason, Scripture, and the Constitution: Being Observations on the Dangerous Politicks taught by the Rev. Mr. Evans, M. A. and the Rev. Dr. Price. With a Scriptural Plea for the Revolted Colonies* (Shrewsbury, 1776), p. 60. Fletcher is quite wrong in attributing this view to Rousseau; see *Contrat social*, Bk. I, ch. viii.

Another excellent expression of this argument occurs in the anonymous pamphlet *Civil Liberty asserted, and the Rights of the Subject defended, against the Anarchial Principles of the Reverend Dr. Price* (London, 1776), pp. 7-8: "Natural Liberty and Civil Liberty are as different as anything can be rendered by different circumstances. In a state of nature where property is not specifically annexed to personality, where every one can feast on the bounties of nature, can gather fruits of this or that tree . . . and knows no bounds but those established by nature, man may be said to enjoy Natural Liberty. But Civil Liberty voluntarily gives up the natural right to boundless range, to enjoy security and peace, the blessings of property annexed to individuals, and protected by general consent and united endeavours. . . . In a state of nature every one extends his enjoyment as far as his will and his powers enable him; but Civil Liberty can extend no further than the laws of the society permit."

Other good texts illustrating this point are: Henry Goodricke, *Observations on Dr. Price's Theory and Principles of Civil Liberty and Government* (York, 1776), pp. 84-86; John Moir, *Obedience the Best Charter; or, Law the only Sanction of Liberty. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Price* (London, 1776), p. 8; *Cursory Remarks on Dr. Price's Observation on the Nature of Civil Liberty. In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1776), p. 2; John Gray, *Doctor Price's Notions of the Nature of Civil Liberty, shewn to be contradictory to Reason and Scripture* (London, 1777), p. 6; John Wesley, *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* (Bristol, 1775), p. 6; *id.*, *Some Observations on Liberty: Occasioned by a Late Tract* (London, 1776), p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Antiradicals writing before 1780 had denied that the state of nature existed, but I have not found any in the 1760's or 1770's who developed this contention into an extensive argument or who rejected the antithesis of nature and art, except John Gordon in his *New Estimate*, II, 41. And Gordon's political theory was only incidental to his main theme. Allan Ramsay in his *Thoughts on the Origin and Nature of Government* (London, 1769), p. 8, attacks the Lockian maxim "that all men in their natural state are free and independent" by denying the existence of the state of nature: "No history of the past, no observation of the present time, can be brought to countenance such a *natural state*; nor were men ever known to exist in it, except for a few minutes, like fishes out of water, in great agonies, terror and convulsions." Likewise the anonymous *Letter to the Rev. Dr. Richard Price* (London, no date, 1776?), p. 8, denies the existence of the state of nature: "Admitting the truth of your levelling principle, that in a *state of nature* individuals are equal, I deny that such a state ever had, or can have, existence. Man is naturally a social being, and the rudiments of civil government were originally laid in the patriarchal dominion of the father of a family." The idea was used only to a negligible extent as an argument against the radicals before the 1780's.

used it against Thomas Paine in the early 1790's. Jenyns's denial of the existence of the state of nature is in the seventh of his *Disquisitions on Several Subjects* (1782). The part of his argument which concerns us is directed against the conception of an original contract. He objects to the contract theory on the ground that it is merely a device of its proponents to overthrow all government, since it is obvious that there never was in any state an original contract. Governments, he says, are not founded on contracts, but on force, or fraud, or accident, or the "circumstances of the times".<sup>42</sup> Moreover, in any government, the people always have the right to preserve or to regain their liberty, whenever they can. But this right is quite unimportant and has no bearing on the problem of government. The question is not what right the people have to liberty, but how much liberty they can be allowed without injuring their own interests. Because of the depravity of human nature, the amount of liberty which is good for the people can never be very great. Men need to be protected against themselves by the compulsion of government, and the conception of a contract entirely overlooks this fact. Government originates in necessity not in choice, and it is absurd to argue from the alleged rights man enjoys in the state of nature that government must be based on natural rights.

Having been led by his argument to natural rights and the state of nature, Jenyns turns his attack on the antithesis of nature and art inherent in the Lockian tradition. He objects to the assumption that man's natural state is a primitive prepolitical state. Such a state, he asserts, is purely imaginary, and even if it did exist, it would certainly not be natural. The state of nature is one of society and art: "The natural state of man is by no means a state of solitude and independence, but of society and subordination; all the effects of human art are parts of his nature, because the power of producing them is bestowed upon him by the author of it."<sup>43</sup> He goes on to point out that it is as natural for man to build cities and to form governments as it is for birds to build nests, and bees and ants to form social organizations. Government, he asserts, is as natural as it is necessary, and man could no more live without it than could "those social and industrious insects". Jenyns echoes Aristotle's opinion concerning the naturalness of government: "Man is evidently made for society, and society cannot subsist without government, and therefore government is as much a part of human nature, as a hand, a heart, or a head." Just as man frequently puts these organs to bad uses, he often abuses government, but

<sup>42</sup> *Disquisitions on Several Subjects* (London, 1782), p. 267.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.



it can no more be inferred from this that he would be happier without government than that he would be happier without his hand, or heart, or head.<sup>44</sup>

The purpose of government, Jenyns continues, is to attain the happiness of mankind, but its sanction is necessity:

Every man, by the constitution of human nature, comes into the world under such a degree of authority and restraint as is necessary for the preservation and happiness of his species and himself; this is no more left to his choice, than whether he will come into the world or not; and this obligation he carries about with him so long as he continues in it.<sup>45</sup>

Submission to government is essential to humanity, and human nature cannot continue to exist without it. As a result, the principle of consent underlying the social compact is invalid. Such are the conclusions which Jenyns reached through his rejection of the antithesis of nature and art and of the state of nature.

The same conclusions were asserted by another important anti-radical during the early 1780's, Josiah Tucker. In *A Treatise concerning Civil Government* (1781) and in two subsequent pamphlets, *Four Letters on Important National Subjects* (1783) and *A Sequel to Sir William Jones' Pamphlet on the Principles of Government* (1784), he attacks the radical position with all the weapons in the antiradical arsenal. When it suits his purpose, he uses arguments essentially the same as those of Wimpey and Fletcher. But he also uses Jenyns's arguments, and they constitute his real position, for he has no respect for a political state of nature or the antithesis of nature and art. Since he is not as explicit on these matters as Jenyns and since his political theory as a whole has been discussed elsewhere, it is not necessary to consider Tucker's reasoning at length here.<sup>46</sup>

#### THE REJECTION OF THE STATE OF NATURE IN THE REPLIES TO PAINE'S *Rights of Man*

The trend toward utilitarian political thought which was exhibited in the early 1780's in the writings of Tucker and Jenyns took a decisive step forward with the publication of William Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785) and Jeremy Bentham's *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789). Paley's rejection

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.      <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> See Robert Livingston Schuyler's *Josiah Tucker: A Selection from his Economic and Political Writings, with an Introduction* (New York, 1931), pp. 39-47.

tion of the social contract<sup>47</sup> and Bentham's attack on the law of nature<sup>48</sup> both implied a rejection of the state of nature and of the antithesis of nature and art. Neither of these writers, however, made these ideas explicit, and we need not include them in our discussion. Nor is it necessary to go into any of the radical writings of the decade, for the radicals of the 1780's added nothing to the Lockian tradition as we have met it in Barwis and Price.<sup>49</sup>

The radical publication of the 1790's which overshadowed all others was Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (Part I, 1791; Part II, 1792). Paine's political theory in Part I is essentially that of John Locke, and his use of the state of nature as well as his conception of it differs in no important respect from that of the earlier writer.<sup>50</sup> The importance for us of the *Rights of Man* lies in the replies which it provoked rather than in the book itself. As soon as it was published it became the center of a larger and more impassioned controversy than had been aroused by Price's *Observations*.<sup>51</sup> We are concerned with three of the answers: Burke's *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), Richard Hey's *Happiness and Rights* (1792), and an anonymous pamphlet by a Dublin barrister entitled *The Rights of Citizens* (1791). We shall consider the Irish pamphlet first.

*The Rights of Citizens* is especially significant for us, first because its author reaches a rejection of the state of nature and of the antithesis of nature and art as a direct reaction against the brute state of nature of the *Second Discourse*, and secondly because he uses the *Second Discourse* and the *Contrat social* as sources from which to draw arguments against the theory of natural rights. His method is to take up one by one the points on which he differs with Paine and to prove

<sup>47</sup> *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* in *Works of William Paley* (London, 1824), II, 294.

<sup>48</sup> *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Oxford, 1879), pp. 17-18.

<sup>49</sup> As I hope to show elsewhere, the most important development in radical thought during these years was the unconscious shift of many of the radical writers to a position in which they subordinated the rights of the individual to the general good, thus tacitly adopting a utilitarian position.

<sup>50</sup> Lois Whitney in her *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress* (Baltimore, 1934), pp. 226-28, finds a strain of primitivism prominent in the *Rights of Man* and an appeal to an original state of nature. I think, however, that these aspects of Paine's book are largely provoked by his desire to answer Burke's appeal to prescription in the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London, 1790) with an appeal to an earlier past. In any event, Paine's primitivism is not essential to his theory of natural rights. For a fuller discussion of this see Ogden, pp. 121-28.

<sup>51</sup> For a list of the replies to the *Rights of Man* see Ogden, pp. 164-66.

that Paine's arguments are false. This leads him into considerable repetition, but in general the pattern of his reasoning falls into three parts. First, he argues that natural rights have no connection with civil society but exist only in a state of nature. To buttress this argument, which is the one that Wimpey used against Barwis and Price, he quotes most of the second half of chapter eight of the *Contrat social*, Book I, beginning: "Ce que l'homme PERD [note the expression] par le contrat social c'est sa liberté naturelle."<sup>52</sup> Second, he argues that though there may have been a state of nature, Paine's natural rights could not have existed in it. He insists that the state of nature was a nonsocial condition in which man lived a solitary life without the possibility of enjoying rights concerning relationships with other men.<sup>53</sup> It is here that the influence of the *Second Discourse* is apparent.<sup>54</sup>

Finally he argues that there never was a state of nature, and that there are no natural rights unless we admit that civil society and civil rights are natural. The first two arguments he adopts by way of refutation, but this is his real belief. Its best expression is to be found in his attack on Paine's doctrine of the natural equality of man.<sup>55</sup> He maintains that equality is so far from being natural to man that the precise opposite is true. "Inequality", he says, "is the work of progressive

<sup>52</sup> *Rights of Citizens, being an Examination of Mr. Paine's Principles, touching Government* (Dublin, 1791), pp. 19-20.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81: "a state when there was no sort of society". See pp. 19, 75, 83-85, and 105-106.

<sup>54</sup> The author quotes directly from the *Second Discourse* on page 83, and other references show that he was thoroughly familiar with it.

<sup>55</sup> There are other good statements of this position, e.g., *Rights of Citizens*, p. 81, n.: "Whether the state of nature ever had existence except in the minds of theorists is also a question. I am here admitting its existence. When Mr. Paine talks of natural rights, that he means rights in a state of nature, (so as impliedly to assert the existence of such a state,) is evident from his referring us to the creation, (as we shall soon see,) and from his contrasted definitions of natural and civil rights; the former of which appertain, he says, to man in right of his existence; the latter in right of his being a member of society; thus clearly calling our minds to contemplate a state when there was no sort of society, i.e. a state whose existence is problematic. If he states those rights to have been different from what others have stated them to be, it may only follow that he is wrong. This part of my argument then, has shortly this tendency, viz. to shew the existence of a state of nature to be very questionable, and that even supposing it to have had existence, yet the existence of many, nay most, of those rights which civil man hath in such a state of nature is questionable; from thence I would infer the fallacy of Mr. Paine's assertion, that every civil right has for its foundation some natural pre-existing right. The social state is natural; and in this sense only are civil rights natural rights, or founded on them." Cf. also p. 18: "... indeed we may think that civil society—with its consequent rights and benefits—is a state to which the human race has a natural inevitable tendency, and in this point of view may call it and its attendant rights natural".

nature.”<sup>56</sup> By this he means that as men begin to grow more civilized, and as individuals begin to produce more than enough for themselves, they tend to become increasingly unequal in the possession of power and wealth. Social chaos would necessarily ensue if human nature did not have another natural tendency, namely, to regularize and control the tendency to inequality. “Had nature done no more than give to human affairs this bias to inequality, men would only spring up for mutual destruction; but ’twas corrected by another tendency, viz: to social regulations; to durable establishments.”<sup>57</sup> The author makes quite clear that both these tendencies are *natural*, although they are not part of the original state of nature. They are natural because the term *natural* designates the progressive tendency of anything rather than its original state. In the case of man the alleged state of original nature probably never existed and certainly never continued. The implication is that even if it did exist, it could not be called *natural*: “That is natural, (I repeat it), to which nature tends. . . . That the pure state of nature ever existed is more than questionable: that it should continue, is as monstrous as that a child should never grow from the moment of its birth. Savage life is the infancy of the human species, and civilization its maturity.”<sup>58</sup> As a result of man’s need for and tendency toward social regulation, inequality is controlled and checked by civil government. This is the work of nature, acting through human beings: “A regulated and subordinate inequality is the fair creation, which nature, working with humane passions, and human reason, has produced.”<sup>59</sup> The truth, then, about natural equality is just the opposite of Paine’s opinion. It is in a state of political society that we find equality and not in a primitive or imaginary prepolitical state.

The arguments of Richard Hey’s *Happiness and Rights* (1792) are similar to those of the *Rights of Citizens*. Hey not only argues on the assumption that the state of nature is a solitary unsocial state, but he also insists that such a state is unnatural. It is altogether wrong, he says, to call such an unconnected state the state of nature, as distinguished from society. Man’s natural state is not an imaginary unsocial condition but whatever state an individual inherits from his environment:

It appears worse than merely arbitrary, to call such [an] unconnected Situation a state of *Nature*, by way of distinction from a state of *society*. Whatever state I find myself placed in, by the immense train of events over which I have had no controul, and which have made my Situation what it

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

is, *that* to me is my state of *Nature*. It is as much my natural Situation, as the Body and Mind I find myself to consist of are my natural Self. The attempt seems a fruitless one, to distinguish between what my Maker has made me or done to me, and what he has *suffered* me to be made by my Parents and Teachers, or to be done to me by all the persons whose actions have contributed to make my Situation what it is.<sup>60</sup>

The state of nature is not man's original state, but whatever state the individual finds himself in.

Hey's repudiation of the antithesis of nature and art leads to a re-statement of his attack on the theory of natural rights. Since man's natural state is the situation he is in, Hey says, it follows that the distinction between original natural rights and civil rights is of no significance. Man-made law is the basis of man's most important rights, and such rights are natural though not original. The fact that they are man made does not in the least impair their validity or their practical value:

Thus, for instance, finding myself possessed of the precious Right of personal Security, I consider it as of little consequence, or none at all, whether my Maker invested me with this Right at my birth, or so ordered or permitted the events of the world, that I should be invested with it by a Law which men like myself have made. I was born to it. It forms part of the Situation in which I found myself, when first I became able to observe my Situation. And I trouble not myself to decide whether it is more justly called the Right of a Man or of a Citizen. Whether I call it this or that, I enjoy it with a good conscience and with thankfulness: and, whether I call it this or that, I consider as a Duty to let others enjoy it with me.<sup>61</sup>

Whether God works by nature or by art, by direct or indirect means, he is the ultimate source of all things, and there is therefore no antithesis between nature and art, or between natural and civil rights. By giving rights a utilitarian interpretation, Hey continues, it is possible to include natural and civil rights under one general conception, namely, "a Claim to all the Happiness which the Legislator's sagacity can supply".<sup>62</sup> Rights are the means, while happiness is the end. But it is foolish to make the mistake of the radicals, who overlook the end in emphasizing the means. Thus Hey consciously converts the theory of natural rights into a utilitarian doctrine by rejecting the antithesis of nature and art and by merging natural rights and civil rights together in the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number.

In turning to Edmund Burke's *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791) we go from the level of fugitive pamphlets to that of a

<sup>60</sup> *Happiness and Rights* (York, 1792), p. 139.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40. <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

classic of political theory. It often happens that the ideas which less able writers explain in detail are to a large extent taken for granted and treated briefly by more sophisticated authors. This is true of Burke's treatment of the state of nature and the antithesis of nature and art. He treats both topics explicitly, but it is only parenthetically that he brings them into the main stream of his argument.

Burke's argument, like that of other antiradicals, falls into two parts. First he admits that there was once a state of nature but denies that man's civil rights have anything to do with it. One of the main issues between Paine and Burke is whether or not a majority of the people have the right to resume the power they have once resigned to their government. To decide this question, Burke says, it is necessary to consider what "a people" is. The idea of a people presupposes the formation of a civil society. "In a state of rude Nature there is no such thing as a people."<sup>63</sup> The term *rude* shows that he is thinking of a primitive solitary condition of the sort described by Rousseau in the *Second Discourse*. The idea of a people is "wholly artificial", Burke says, and hence the right of a majority of a people to resume the power they have resigned to their government has no basis in "a law of our original nature".

It is only the exigencies of the argument which lead Burke into adopting the antithesis of nature and art, and in the second part of his argument he rejects it emphatically. He continues his discussion of what constitutes a people and maintains against Paine that an aristocracy is a natural and essential part of a people. Paine had contended that an aristocracy is an artificial evil and that it should be abolished. Burke replies that there must be an aristocracy, whose duty it is to "enlighten and protect, the weaker, the less knowing, and the less provided with the goods of fortune". An aristocracy is natural, he says, because it is a necessary and organic part of the state. Civil society must include members who by innate ability, training, and social position are fitted to manage it, and consequently aristocracy is as natural as the state itself.

And the state, he continues, is natural because civil society is man's natural condition, rather than some rude and primitive state. It is man's nature to use reason and art, and nothing is more natural to him than to use them in creating artificial political society:

The state of civil society which necessarily generates this aristocracy is a state of Nature,—and much more truly so than a savage and incoherent

<sup>63</sup> *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* in *Works* (Boston, 1871), IV, 169.

mode of life. For man is by nature reasonable; and he is never perfectly in his natural state, but when he is placed where reason may be best cultivated and most predominates. Art is man's nature. We are as much, at least, in a state of Nature in formed manhood as in immature and helpless infancy. Men, qualified in the manner I have just described, form in Nature, as she operates in the common modification of society, the leading, guiding, and governing part. It is the soul to the body, without which the man does not exist.<sup>64</sup>

The significance of the rejection of the antithesis of nature and art and of the state of nature was much the same for Burke as for English political theory as a whole. Burke's belief that the norm for political action is expediency tempered by prescription and tradition precluded any use of a state of nature, whether juristic or historical. This belief also implied the negation of the antithesis of nature and art. These were ideas which Burke and the other antiradicals had to clear out of their way before they could establish their own theories.

We have seen how the rejection of the abstract state of nature in favor of a primitive historical state of nature was seized upon by a large number of antiradicals as an opportunity to attack the theory of natural rights, and how this attack forced many of the Lockians to modify their theory to meet the criticism. We have seen how other writers, reacting against the primitivism inherent in terming man's original savage condition the state of nature, developed the Aristotelian view that political society is natural to man and that there is no antithesis of nature and art. The changed conception of the state of nature was not, of course, the only or even the most important factor in the revolution of political ideas which occurred during the last half of the eighteenth century in England. No doubt the theory of natural rights would have given way to the various utilitarianisms if the state of nature had never been mentioned in the controversy through which the change evolved. On the other hand, the pattern which the change actually followed was determined chiefly by issues involving the state of nature and the antithesis of nature and art. And since these issues were provoked by the *Second Discourse* more than by any other book, we may justly attribute to Rousseau's essay a dominant influence in determining the general pattern of the disintegration of the theory of natural rights in England.

H. V. S. OGDEN.

*The University of Michigan.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.



## THE COURT, THE CORPORATION, AND CONKLING

IN a recent case before the Federal Supreme Court Justice Black gave a dissenting opinion in which he said: "Neither the history nor the language of the Fourteenth Amendment justifies the belief that corporations are included within its protection. The historical purpose was clearly set forth when first considered by this Court in the Slaughter House Cases. . . ."<sup>1</sup> This pronouncement does not appear to have agitated constitutional lawyers very much or to have received much attention from historians. It has, however, led some investigators to take new interest in the antecedents of the Fourteenth Amendment and in certain cases construing the amendment. The historian may wisely question his duty or his technical ability to criticize or defend principles of law laid down by a court; but when a court or a justice deliberately bases an opinion upon history or refers to historical facts or forces, the historian has a right to be heard. Justice Black's statements need not be taken to indicate any probable effect upon the timeworn construction of the Fourteenth Amendment, but they furnish an excellent illustration of the way in which the opinion in the Slaughter House cases has been and can be used. His assertions offer us a convenient approach to a brief examination of some of the controversies that have arisen and some of the interpretations that have been placed on the decision and opinion in those cases.

In the famous opinion delivered by Justice Miller in 1873,<sup>2</sup> the majority of the court sought to give a general and fairly comprehensive construction of the Fourteenth Amendment. The elementary principle there laid down was that the three amendments which were the product of the Civil War were primarily intended to protect Negroes in their rights as freemen. Some of the statements in the opinion will not withstand critical analysis if they are to be taken at their face value. The opinion groups together the three amendments and says: "It is true that only the 15th Amendment, in terms, mentions the negro by speaking of his color and his slavery. But it is just as true that each of the other articles [of amendment] was addressed to the grievances of that race and designed to remedy them as the Fifteenth." The second section of

<sup>1</sup> Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. v. Johnson, 303 U. S. 77, 85, 86 (decided January 31, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> The Slaughter House cases, 16 Wall 36 (1873).

the Fourteenth Amendment, however, was certainly not intended to refer to Negroes alone. If this fact is not evident from the wording of the amendment, it becomes perfectly plain from a study of the debates in Congress.<sup>3</sup> And if that section was not directed only to the problem of Negro suffrage, it invalidates, in some slight degree at least, Justice Miller's main assumption. This variation from complete accuracy is not, however, of great importance.

Justice Black declares: "This Amendment sought to prevent discrimination by states against classes or races. We are aware of this from words spoken within five years of its adoption, when the people and the courts were personally familiar with the historical background of the Amendment. 'We doubt very much whether any action of a state not directed by way of discrimination against the negroes as a class, or on account of their race, will ever be held within the purview of this provision.'"<sup>4</sup> These words, quoted from Miller's opinion, Justice Black apparently considers to be a construction of the whole Fourteenth Amendment or at least of all of the first section. But, plainly, this use of the quotation is not justified. The portion of Justice Miller's opinion in which the quoted sentence appears is so worded and the paragraphing is such that the reader is uncertain whether by "this provision" he means the equal protection clause of the amendment or section five, which gives Congress authority to enforce the amendment. At all events, that portion of the opinion refers to equality and the power to protect it by legislative enactment if necessary.

All of this would not be of much interest to historical scholars were it not that some historical narratives apply the sentence quoted by Justice Black to the whole of the first section; and the result of this application is that the judicial decisions dealing with "due process" in later decades appear to be a complete rejection of the principle laid down in the Slaughter House cases. The equal protection clause of the amendment was the subject of conspicuous interest before the end of

<sup>3</sup> The writer does not mean to imply that the court should have examined the debates. According to its own precepts and doctrines, it may and will do so under some circumstances and for certain purposes. The historical investigator, however, is not bound to adhere rigidly to the self-imposed inhibitions of the judiciary.

<sup>4</sup> *Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. v. Johnson*, 303 U. S. 77, 89, 90. It is desirable to notice that Miller, after declaring that the amendments were "addressed to the grievances of the negro race", said: "We do not say that no one else but the negro can share in this protection. . . . But what we do say, and what we wish to be understood is, that in any fair and just construction of any section or phrase of these amendments, it is necessary to look to the purpose which we have said was the pervading spirit of them all . . ." Slaughter House cases, *supra*, p. 72. This statement was of service to the justice at a later time.

the first decade after Miller's opinion was rendered, and it is possible that, had the sentence which Justice Black quoted been commonly understood to refer to congressional authority, some of the difficulties might have been cleared away. This, however, is only a vague surmise. What was said plainly in the Miller opinion concerning equal protection was probably enough to account for the controversies that ensued.<sup>5</sup>

Little attention has been paid by historical writers and others to the fact that not a twelvemonth had passed after the Slaughter House cases when the Supreme Court, Justice Miller himself giving the opinion, discussed due process and gave not the slightest intimation that the phrase was applicable only to Negroes.<sup>6</sup> In other decisions, rendered only a short time later, the attitude of the court was the same, and in two of those cases Miller gave the opinion.<sup>7</sup>

The opinion in the Slaughter House cases pays slight attention to the due process clause; it does not define the phrase, and it is not plainly associated with discrimination against Negroes, as is the equal protection clause. The main body of the decision dealt with the privileges and immunities clause and made it mere surplusage, adding nothing to the constitutional law or the constitutional restrictions in existence before the amendment was adopted.<sup>8</sup> That construction of the amendment

<sup>5</sup> Regarding equality Justice Miller said: "The existence of laws in the States where the newly emancipated negroes resided, which discriminated with gross injustice and hardship against them as a class, was the evil to be remedied by this clause, and by it such laws are forbidden." Slaughter House cases, *supra*, p. 81. It should be remembered that there were four dissenters in that case, three of them giving separate opinions. "It is futile to argue", said Justice Bradley, "that none but persons of the African race are intended to be benefited by this Amendment." "By the language 'citizens of the United States,'" said Justice Swayne, "was meant all such citizens; and by 'any person' was meant all persons within the jurisdiction of the State." No distinction is intimated on account of race or color." It is difficult to believe that when the amendment says "any person" it means any black person, and that, therefore, a state is forbidden to deprive a black person of liberty or property but can so deprive a white person. In his powerful opinion given in the Circuit Court, some nine years after the Slaughter House cases, Justice Sawyer said: "I apprehend it would have struck the world with some amazement, when this amendment was proposed to the people of the United States for adoption, if it had read: 'Nor shall any state deprive any person of the *negro race* of life, liberty and property without due process of law; nor deny to any person of the *negro race* within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'" *County of San Mateo v. S. Pacific R. Co.*, 13 Fed. 722, 761 (1882).

<sup>6</sup> *Bartemeyer v. Iowa*, 18 Wall. 129 (1874).

<sup>7</sup> *Kennard v. Louisiana*, 92 U. S. 480 (1876); *McMillen v. Anderson*, 95 U. S. 37 (1877); *Davidson v. New Orleans*, 96 U. S. 97 (1878).

<sup>8</sup> But see, for a recent application of this clause, *Colgate v. Harvey*, 296 U. S. 404, 431; *Hague v. Committee for Industrial Organization*, Supreme Court Reporter, 59, No. 15. Special attention should, however, be given to Justice Stone's comments in the two cases.

was due to the determination of the court so to construe the phrase as not to change radically "the whole theory of the relations of the State and the Federal Government to each other and of both of these governments to the people". The decision of the court in this particular, *i.e.*, the bearing and the effect of the privileges and immunities clause, has stood from that day to this. We need not dwell upon this phase of the subject; it is enough to say that in all probability the framers of the amendment intended that clause to mean something. Certainly John A. Bingham, who more than anyone else constructed the first section of the amendment, expected that privileges and immunities not to be interfered with by the states would include the sanctity of elementary principles for the protection of life, liberty, and property.<sup>9</sup>

It is not necessary, however, to review at length the Slaughter House cases. My purpose in referring to the decision in the brief and superficial discussion in the preceding paragraphs is partly to call attention to the fact, which is not without interest to students of constitutional history, that Justice Black, in a portion of his opinion, apparently accepts the doctrine of Justice Miller, and this is done after some fifty years of judicial history during which the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment has been used by the court to protect what it conceived to be the rights of white people as well as Negroes. The position taken by Justice Black in some portions of his opinion should not be considered unprecedented and unique. He took one sentence from a paragraph, separated it from the context, and thus, in this respect at least, did not properly interpret the opinion from which he quoted; but others have done the same. This return to the decision of 1873, however, has little to do with Justice Black's main object—the assertion that the word "person" in the latter half of the first section should not be interpreted as applicable to a corporation. Justice Black pays particular attention to the wording of the amendment. He finds no ground for holding that a corporation is a person, when, in every other instance where the word "person" is used in the amendment, the word is plainly intended to mean a human being. It is not my purpose to contradict this statement or to enter into an argument with intent to prove that Justice Black is wrong. That question can be left to the lawyers and the jurists. It

<sup>9</sup> This, I think, is evidenced by Bingham's speeches and by the able examination of the subject by Mr. Louis B. Boudin, whose article on the Fourteenth Amendment will be spoken of later in this article. The reader should not suppose that my remarks in the text above are intended to imply disapproval of Justice Miller's main purpose—to protect the states in their power to manage their internal affairs. But the justice based his opinion on historical forces; and the historical student is at liberty to question his interpretation of historical facts.

may, however, be proper to suggest that this method of attacking the validity of considering corporations as persons is much more likely to have effect (if there can be any effect after more than fifty years of judicial interpretation) than is reliance on Miller's opinion as historically correct. And this method of attack is of some importance in connection with matters to be discussed later in this article.

Justice Black pays little respect to what has been termed the conspiracy theory of the Fourteenth Amendment—the theory or the assumption that the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, which framed the amendment, or some of its members, intended so to phrase the amendment as to assure corporations of protection under the general terms of the latter half of the first section. He does say: “A secret purpose on the part of the members of the Committee, even if such be the fact, however, would not be sufficient to justify any such construction.”<sup>10</sup> This conspiracy, if such it can be called, has recently received careful attention by competent writers, and one purpose of this article is to call attention to these studies. They have appeared in law journals to which many teachers and readers of history have not easy and convenient access.<sup>11</sup> They are based on industrious examination of the sources, are thoroughly documented, and appear to demonstrate conclusively that the conspiracy is a mere myth—a myth which appeared to have established itself as historical reality. A full presentation of the content of these studies cannot be given here. One or two items, however, deserve special attention. In the first place, we may notice that the impropriety of using the word “conspiracy” is made evident, for, though there appeared for a time to be the supposition or the assumption that the plot was under the guidance of more than one conspirator, Bingham emerged as the archplotter as far as the actual activities of the committee were considered, and, of course, one person cannot constitute a conspiracy. Mr. Boudin's study of Bingham's part in the formation of the amendment and his speeches in Congress deserve special attention.

To support the reality of the conspiracy it is said that Bingham was a successful railroad lawyer; one writer says that he had many railroads among his clients. The purpose of that statement is, of course, to imply that being a railroad lawyer he would naturally and inevitably, when framing the amendment, be especially solicitous for the interests of his clients. It is difficult to understand how anyone can read Bingham's

<sup>10</sup> *Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. v. Johnson*, 303 U. S. 77, 87.

<sup>11</sup> Louis B. Boudin, “Truth and Fiction about the Fourteenth Amendment”, *New York University Law Quarterly Review*, XVI, 19-82; Howard Jay Graham, “The ‘Conspiracy Theory’ of the Fourteenth Amendment”, *Yale Law Journal*, XLVII, 371-403; XLVIII, 171-94.

speeches in Congress and see him, not as a valiant defender, perhaps even a fanatical defender, of human liberty, but as a crafty advocate of corporate interests. As a matter of plain fact, however, no evidence has been offered to show that he was a railroad lawyer. Mr. Boudin says: "An examination of the U. S. Reports discloses the fact that Bingham had never argued a case before that Court, and an examination of the Ohio Supreme Court's Reports fails to disclose any identification with railroad or other large corporate interests."<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, we are especially called upon to remember that there is not a single piece of concrete contemporary evidence that the framers of the amendment contemplated the protection of corporations. I do not consider the insidious suggestion made by Conkling in his famous argument in the *San Mateo* case, sixteen years after the committee had completed its work, for his statement can scarcely be said to be contemporary. Mr. Graham, after a laborious examination of documentary material, has come to the conclusion that the corporation probably did come up incidentally in the discussion and that no special significance was at that time attached to it: "From a study of the evolution of the phraseology in the Joint Committee the writer feels confident that Section One was not *designed* to aid corporations, nor was the distinction between 'citizens' and persons conceived for their benefit."<sup>13</sup> All of this tends to support Justice Black's contention insofar as it is directed to a denial that corporations are persons and entitled to the protection of the amendment. That is to say, the absence of any concrete evidence that the protection of corporations was in the minds of the committee who consciously intended, though silently and covertly, so to phrase the amendment as to assure such protection, may possibly be considered a suitable basis for the justice's position.

It is said, however, that at a later time, some five years after the amendment was framed, Bingham made a disclosure of the hidden

<sup>12</sup> *New York Univ. Law Quar. Rev.*, XVI, 32, n. 10. Mr. H. L. Rubin, whose study is not as yet published, after an examination of a considerable portion of Bingham's papers, has found no evidence that he was a corporation lawyer.

<sup>13</sup> *Yale Law Jour.*, XLVIII, 193, 194. Mr. Edward R. Lewis, who has made a very careful and intelligent study of the Reconstruction period, says: "But there is not a line in the Journal, nor in the debates in Congress on the amendment, which gives any support to Conkling's intimation that unequal taxation or the protection of business was in the mind of the Committee or of Congress" (*A History of American Political Thought from the Civil War to the World War*, New York, 1937, p. 30). By using the word "business" Mr. Lewis presumably does not intend to say that the committee did not intend to protect property. He says in an earlier chapter: "We have seen also that Congress did consider—although very briefly—that all rights were to be protected; that all persons were to be safeguarded in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property (*ibid.*, p. 27).

purpose of the committee. Mr. Boudin has not been able to find that disclosure, nor have I. In his speech of March 31, 1871, Bingham took the position which he had taken in the open debates of the earlier time, and he was especially insistent on the power and the duty of Congress to pass legislation for the enforcement of the amendment where it was being openly violated; property, as well as life and liberty, he believed, was entitled to protection.<sup>14</sup> Possibly a bill introduced by Bingham as the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House (February 15, 1871) may be the "disclosure", though I find no reference to it by those who have written on the subject. This bill provided, first, that no penalty be imposed on any life insurance company incorporated in any state on account of any action authorized by the United States, and, second, that no state tax or impose other condition of doing business on such a company which is not by the same authority imposed upon all insurance companies. We have already noticed Bingham's interest in privileges and immunities. When he was debating in the House five years before this bill was introduced, he had contended that the clause in the main body of the Constitution constituted a restriction upon the states which they should observe, and the obligation to do so should be enforceable; the measure, therefore, cannot properly be termed a disclosure. It was introduced two years before the Slaughter House cases made the privileges and immunities clause of the amendment of no special consequence. Bingham made only a short introductory speech, a languid and brief presentation of the nature and purpose of the bill. This was not the fiery and impassioned Bingham who disclosed his real character in defending Negro rights and human liberty. The burden of defending the bill fell upon the broad shoulders of Ben Butler; it was rejected after a very brief debate. The discussion is an illustration of what a congressional debate can be. The lawyers participating in the discussion were, it seems, entirely unaware of the law as announced by the Supreme Court in very recent cases.<sup>15</sup> If Bingham was a corporation lawyer, he did not keep abreast of judicial decisions.

<sup>14</sup> "The question as presented here and now may be stated thus: is it competent for Congress to provide by law for the better enforcement of the Constitution and laws of the United States and the better security of life, liberty, and property of the citizens of the United States in the several States of the Union." *Congressional Globe*, 42 Congress, 1 session, appendix, p. 81.

<sup>15</sup> "A corporation is not a citizen within the meaning of that provision of the Constitution which declares that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states. . . . States may exclude foreign corporations . . . or may exact such security . . . as in their judgment will best promote the public interest." *Paul v. Virginia*, 75 U. S. 168, Syllabus (Nov. 1, 1869). See also *Ducat v. Chicago*, 77 U. S. 410 (Jan. 9, 1871).



We have now to consider the cases in which the courts passed upon the question of whether corporations are protected by the amendment and especially to consider the famous argument of Roscoe Conkling. It may be well to say, to make assurance doubly sure, that the purpose of this article is not to demonstrate that corporations are persons or that the court, in so declaring, properly interpreted the amendment. The purpose is chiefly to present a celebrated case as a part of constitutional history; it is not intended to demonstrate anything except historical facts, as far as they can be condensed into a brief summary.

In this connection, dates are of importance. It is well to notice first, as bearing on the conspiracy theory, that the court's announcement that a corporation is a person and covered by that word in the amendment was made in May, 1886, twenty years after the Committee on Reconstruction had framed the amendment. This lapse of time is at least a slight indication that the conspirators acted with almost unbelievable deliberation. That, however, is of no great consequence. The *San Mateo* case, which passed upon the question of equal protection of the laws, arose in California and was decided by the Federal Circuit Court with Justice Field (one of the four dissenters in the *Slaughter House* cases) and Circuit Judge Sawyer on the bench. The decision was given on September 25, 1882. On appeal to the Supreme Court this case was argued on December 21, 22, 23, of the same year. It was then that Conkling made his argument and filed his brief. The case was not then decided, however; there was delay. In September, 1883, the *Santa Clara* case, involving principles similar to those presented by the *San Mateo* case, was decided in the Circuit Court by the same two judges. The *San Mateo* case was finally disposed of by the Supreme Court in connection with the *Santa Clara* case, which was decided on May 10, 1886.<sup>16</sup>

There appears to be an impression that Conkling's oratory and argument had such an effect upon the court that it immediately decided in support of his contention. The assertion that a corporation was a person was made in a preliminary statement in the *Santa Clara* case before the arguments of counsel, the Chief Justice saying: "The Court does not wish to hear argument on the question whether the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which forbids a state to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, applies to these corporations. We are all of the opinion that it

<sup>16</sup> "Both sides agree that the suit of the County Santa Clara against the same Company presents all the questions that are involved in this case [the *San Mateo* case]; and that the parties have stipulated this need not be taken up for decision until that is heard." *County of San Mateo v. Southern Pacific R. R.*, 116 U. S. 138, 142.

does.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, after Conkling’s speech, three years and more had passed before this pronouncement was made. This lapse of time may possibly be of no importance as indicative of the effect of Conkling’s eloquence, but it does indicate that the court had plenty of time for consideration of the questions involved. It may also be of no great significance that the decision in the case did not turn at all upon any interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, but such is the fact.

It is important to notice with care the nature of opinions given in the Circuit Court by Field and Sawyer in September, 1882. Of course, every justice on the Supreme Court bench when the case was argued on appeal and when Conkling made his argument was familiar with the Circuit Court decision which had already been printed.<sup>18</sup> When the case was decided in the Circuit Court, the legal problems involved were discussed at length in able and elaborate opinions. The interpretation of the amendment which would support the doctrine of the Slaughter House cases, as far as it drew the color line, was definitely attacked. The announcement that a corporation is a person was asserted and defended with reference to judicial decisions of the past. Justice Field appears to have been so impatient with any contrary theory that he indulged in one sweeping statement which may perhaps have been extreme. He quoted the Fifth Amendment and said: “A similar provision is found in nearly all of the state constitutions; and everywhere and at all times it has been held, either by tacit assent or express adjudication, to extend, so far as their property is concerned, to corporations. And this has been because the property of a corporation is in fact the property of corporators. . . . It is sufficient to add that in all text writers, in all codes, and in all revised statutes, it is laid down that the term ‘person’ includes, or may include, corporations. . . .”

Field quoted a passage from Marshall’s opinion in the Dartmouth College case, and this quotation was used by Conkling before the Supreme Court. It may not be proper for a mere historian to say that the general principle laid down by Marshall and reiterated by text writers (Story among them) is the chief difficulty to be overcome by anyone attempting to deny that corporations are protected by the Fourteenth Amendment—it may not be proper in this article which is attempting to give historical facts and not to lay down legal principles—but the historical fact is plain: Field quoted Marshall, and Conkling used the quotation. The decision in the Dartmouth College case centered upon

<sup>17</sup> *County of Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific R. R.*, 118 U. S. 394 (May 10, 1886).

<sup>18</sup> 13 Fed. Rep. 722.

the question whether a charter of a private corporation is a contract, impairment of which by a state is forbidden by the Constitution. "It is more than possible", said Marshall, "that the preservation of rights of this description was not particularly in the view of the framers of the constitution when the clause under consideration was introduced into that instrument. . . . But although a particular and a rare case may not, in itself, be of sufficient magnitude to induce a rule, yet it must be governed by the rule, when established, unless some plain and strong reason for excluding it can be given. It is not enough to say that this particular case was not in the mind of the convention when the article was framed, nor of the American people when it was adopted. It is necessary to go further and to say that, had this particular case been suggested, the language would have been so varied, as to exclude it, or it would have been made a special exception."

In his Circuit Court opinion Field quoted an opinion by Judge Cooley which was then of recent date: "And it cannot be necessary at this day to enter upon a discussion in denial of the right of the government to take from either individuals or corporations any property which they may rightfully have acquired. In the most arbitrary times such an act was recognized as pure tyranny, and it has been forbidden in England ever since *Magna Charta*, and in this country always."<sup>19</sup> No other authority in constitutional law had at that time the influence or the prestige of Cooley. The fourth edition of his *Constitutional Limitations* had recently been published and was written not as an *ex cathedra* disquisition on desirable principles but as the product of toilsome collection of judicial decisions.<sup>20</sup>

The statements and the quotations in the preceding paragraphs give, at the best, only a suggestion of the force and the thoroughness with which the topic under consideration by the Circuit Court was handled. They may be sufficient, however, to establish the fact that the status of a corporation under the amendment did not come to the Supreme Court as a novel idea introduced and defended by Conkling.

The first effort of Conkling in his argument before the Supreme Court was to attack the assumption, if not the explicit decision, of the

<sup>19</sup> *Detroit v. Detroit and Howell Plank Road Co.*, 43 Mich. 140, 148 (1880). The text does not mention due process by name, but the headnote, written by Judge Cooley himself, says: "The reserved right to amend the charter of a corporation will not authorize the Legislature to add requirements that would be inconsistent with constitutional principles, as by depriving it of its property without due process of law."

<sup>20</sup> "In the first edition he cited over 3,000 cases, at least 350 of which were discussed under topics . . . entitled 'Of the Protection of Property by the Law of the Land.'" Rodney L. Mott, *Due Process of Law* (Indianapolis, 1926), p. 184, n. 16.

court that the amendment was intended only to protect Negroes, and he naturally, because of the issues involved in the case, devoted his time largely to the question of equality. With this purpose in mind he read from the Journal of the committee, then unpublished. It was a dramatic performance; but not until 1914 was the Journal published. An examination of the published Journal shows that Conkling's handling of the material was not altogether commendable. That the presentation of this evidence of the committee's intention had influence upon the court is possible; at least, there is no use in denying it. But it is worthy of notice that on the bench in 1882 were only three justices who participated in the Slaughter House decision, and of these three only one, Miller, was with the majority of the court in that earlier decision. The bench was therefore practically new, and only one member had any reason for feeling personal disquietude because of Conkling's revelations.

The critical matter which we have in hand is the pronouncement of the status of corporations as persons. Conkling's argument and brief discussed that subject; not only did he cite judicial decisions of earlier days, but he also made one statement which has been often quoted and more often referred to. We have already noticed Mr. Graham's discussion of the subject.<sup>21</sup> Whatever criticism can be made of Conkling's handling of the Journal, he did not dare to go quite so far as to say that the committee deliberately and consciously intended to provide for the protection of corporations. This is what he said:

At the time the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified [he probably meant framed], as the records of the two Houses will show, individuals and joint stock companies were appealing for congressional and administrative protection against invidious and discriminating State and local taxes. One instance was that of an express company, whose stock was owned largely by citizens of the State of New York, who came with petitions and bills seeking acts of Congress to aid them in resisting what they deemed oppressive taxation in two States, and oppressive and ruinous rules of damages applied under State laws.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In his meticulous examination of the documentary material Graham certainly gives no evidence that he is consciously attempting to establish the fact that the committee did or did not intend to secure the protection of corporations. My own opinion is that because of his determination to be fair-minded he gave too much weight to the possible effect of corporation petitions and to possible influences of a somewhat different character. I hesitate to indulge in this mild criticism because his study involved wide and laborious research and was carried on with acumen and objectivity.

<sup>22</sup> Oral argument as printed on page 25. The remainder of the paragraph really returns to an argument against drawing the color line as it was drawn or appeared to be drawn by the general pronouncements of the majority opinion in the Slaughter House cases.

A reader of Conkling's argument and brief will see plainly that he did not rely much, or certainly not exclusively, on the conscious intentions of the committee to protect corporations. In fact, beyond the few sentences in which he spoke of the petitions of "joint stock companies", and thus suggested that the committee had corporations in mind, he emphasized the principle laid down in the Dartmouth College case and declared that the significance and scope of the amendment should not be confined to the conscious intentions of the committee or to the issues that held the public attention when the amendment was framed and ratified. "Those who devised the Fourteenth Amendment wrought in grave sincerity. They may have builded better than they knew. . . . If it be true that new needs have come, if it be true that wrongs have arisen or shall arise which the framers in their forebodings never saw—wrongs which shall be righted by the words which they established; then all the more will these words be sanctified and consecrated to humanity and progress."

One fact appears unquestionable: Conkling, though indulging in one insinuating and clever suggestion, made a legal argument with citations to decisions intending to show that corporations had been commonly held to be persons. He referred to the decision of the Circuit Court and spoke of "the very able opinions there pronounced".<sup>23</sup> The fact then is plain enough: Conkling made use of the learning and ability of Field and Sawyer, and he used their citations, a fact which he acknowledged.<sup>24</sup>

The preceding paragraphs give a condensed and perhaps quite inadequate presentation of the controversy over the amendment as that controversy appeared in the San Mateo and Santa Clara cases. But anyone taking the pains to examine the documents will be forced, I think, to abandon any assumption that Conkling, by a clever insinuation and the *tour de force* of eloquence, led the court to adopt a strange and startling doctrine and that his speech and his intimation of the committee's purpose were the conclusive reason for the court's pronouncement. It has been said by one writer in so many words that the court relied upon Conkling's *ipse dixit*. The contention of the present writer is that the arguments and briefs of the counsel in the case, able and experienced jurists, relied, on the whole, upon legal principles,

<sup>23</sup> Brief, p. 20. He also speaks of Field's "judgment" in the Circuit Court case, "remarkable for its learning and ability". Oral argument, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> "Some of these cases are referred to in the opinion in the Circuit Court of Mr. Justice Field; others are collected in a note in 13 Federal Reporter, p. 785; still others are given in the brief of my Associate, Judge Sanderson, at pp. 31-48." Oral argument, p. 29.

upon judicial decisions. The battery of counsel for the railroad was impressive; in addition to Conkling it included George F. Edmonds, S. W. Sanderson, and Henry Beard. Sanderson's brief is a noteworthy document. While Conkling gave a comparatively brief presentation of the right of a corporation to be considered a person and followed Field and Sawyer on the whole, Sanderson devoted eighteen large pages of his brief to that question. The counsel for the roads in the Santa Clara case included Sanderson and Edmonds; and the record of the court says: "One of the points made and discussed at length in the brief for defendants in error was that 'corporations are persons within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment . . .'" It thus appears that the court had opportunity to study the whole question anew, with the help of elaborate briefs, after the San Mateo case was argued. The court may have been wrong; Field and Sawyer may have been wrong; Cooley may have been wrong; that is to say, judicial precedent and judicial principles of interpretation may have been unsuited to the case at issue and inapplicable. But as a matter of constitutional history it appears improper to do otherwise than believe that the court was convinced (if it needed convincing) by legal argument.

What does the writer mean by "if it needed convincing"? Certain statements in opinions of the courts, before the San Mateo case was argued, seem to show or raise the justifiable assumption that the court was not shocked or startled by arguments announcing that corporations were persons. The most important of these opinions, probably, were those already spoken of—that of the Michigan State Court and the opinions of Field and Sawyer in the Circuit Court. But there are other cases, not so emphatic, but nevertheless deserving consideration. The railroad cases which were associated with the decision of *Munn v. Illinois* were governed by the opinion in that case,<sup>25</sup> and the right of the legislature to fix rates was based on the principle, not that the corporation was not entitled to protection under the amendment, but on the fact that the railroads were engaged in a business affected with a public interest; they were placed with the elevator business in a special

<sup>25</sup> *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U. S. 113 (1877); *Chicago, B. and Q. R. Co. v. Iowa*, 94 U. S. 155 (1877); *Peik v. Chicago and N. W. R. Co.*, 94 U. S. 164 (1877); and other cases of the same date and covered by the same opinions. "Of what avail", said Field in a dissenting opinion, "is the constitutional provision that no State shall deprive any person of his property except by due process of law, if the State can, by fixing the compensation which he may receive for its use, take from him all that is valuable in the property?" *Stone v. Wisconsin*, 94 U. S. 181, 186. This statement, it will be noticed, was made in 1877, seventeen years before the court in *Reagan v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.* announced this principle.

category and were not cast into the dark because they were corporations. In light of the fact that the counsel in the *Munn* case vigorously and at length dwelt on the due process clause of the amendment, and in light of Field's forcible dissent, it seems strange that the majority of the court did not anticipate the argument of his dissent by simply asserting that corporations were not persons and were therefore not protected by the amendment if the justices believed that the amendment should be so construed. In 1878 the court considered the question whether a railroad company had been deprived of its property without due process of law or denied the equal protection of the laws. On both points it ruled against the company, but the opinion carries not the slightest suggestion that the company, being a corporation, was not entitled to protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>26</sup>

In the following year Chief Justice Waite in one of the *Sinking Fund* cases said: "The United States cannot any more than a State interfere with private rights, except for legitimate governmental purposes. They are not included within the constitutional prohibitions which prevent States from passing laws impairing the obligation of contracts, but, equally with the States, they are prohibited from depriving persons or corporations of property without due process of law." Of course, it may be said that the Chief Justice here distinguishes between persons and corporations, but he plainly announces that corporations are protected, and there is no clause in the Constitution under which they could be protected except the words of the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>27</sup>

Since the recognition of corporations as persons has been said to mark the swing of the court back to the tendency characteristic of the period of Marshall and away from the tendency of Taney's time, insofar as in Marshall's time the protection of property was dominant or prominent, it may be worth while to point out that even Taney declared that a corporation was a person and had been so held in previous

<sup>26</sup> *Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac R. Co. v. City of Richmond*, 96 U. S. 521.

<sup>27</sup> *Sinking Fund cases, Union Pacific R. Co. v. United States*, 99 U. S. 700, 718 (1879). It should be noticed that in this opinion Chief Justice Waite discussed due process of law, and he did not intimate that a corporation was not protected. In this case it was the provision of the Fifth Amendment, not the Fourteenth, which had to be taken into consideration, for a congressional act was the subject of controversy. "That part of said Act does not deprive the Union Pacific Railroad Company of its property without due process of law." *Ibid.* (Syllabus). No one so far as I know, unless it be a reasonable construction of Justice Black's opinion, has suggested that the Fifth Amendment should in this particular receive a construction different from that accorded the Fourteenth Amendment.



decisions: "It is, indeed, a mere artificial being, invisible and intangible; yet it is a person, for certain purposes in contemplation of law, and has been recognized as such by the decisions of this Court."<sup>28</sup>

One significant illustration of the extent to which Conkling's devastating eloquence is supposed to have convinced the court appears in a colloquy between Senator Black, before his appointment to the bench, and Senator Borah, on March 19, 1937. Mr. Black asked, "Does the Senator believe that due process meant anything more than judicial procedure?" To this Mr. Borah answered: "In my opinion the first decisions of the Supreme Court were sound, that it meant nothing more than due process of law, but when Mr. Conkling appeared before the Court with the records of the Committee which framed it, showing that it was the intent of the members of that Committee . . . to include not only procedural matters but substantive matters, the Court finally held to that effect." This dialogue would not be very important if it had been left to lie hidden in the pages of the *Congressional Record*. It has, however, been actually reprinted for the instruction of students of history. Now, as to this interchange of legal opinions this can be said: due process of law never has been held, either before or after Conkling spoke, to be confined to judicial procedure, if that expression means process and determination by a court. Furthermore, the statement of Senator Borah is, of course, entirely without foundation. Conkling in his argument (page 35) said: "I come now to insist that the proceeding by which the defendant was assessed and taxed was not due process of law." He then discussed the procedure. In his brief he says: "The proceeding by which this defendant was assessed and taxed was not due process of law. . . . The proceeding need not be judicial; it may be administrative (18 How., 272) but it must give an opportunity to be heard, and heard in season, and upon the right or matter in question." In his oral argument he used almost exactly the same words. In the latter portion of his treatment of due process he declared that railroad companies had been discriminated against and deprived of the procedural protection furnished to other property owners.

The objection to the emphasis that has been placed on Conkling's performance and on the court's pronouncement in the Santa Clara case is that it throws the period of the ensuing fifteen or twenty years out of perspective. Those were exceedingly important years in the development of American constitutional law. And that development was by no means confined to a recognition of corporate rights. It seems fair to say

<sup>28</sup> *The Bank of Augusta v. Earle*, 13 Peters 519 (1839).

that among the various cases, two stand out fairly conspicuously; these two did affect corporations and their interests, but they were not suits in which the corporations whose rights were passed upon were the parties of record. I refer to *Reagan v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.*<sup>29</sup> and *Smyth v. Ames*.<sup>30</sup> In the first of these cases, rates fixed by a commission were held to be unreasonable, a conclusion which the stated facts seem to establish; but a salient fact is that the suit was brought by the bondholders of a railroad, not by the corporation, the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company being the trustee of the bondholders. In the second case, also, rates were declared to be unreasonable, and in this case the suits were brought by stockholders of railroad companies. So, as Mr. Boudin suggests, if no announcement had been made by the court in 1886 that a corporation is a person, the results would have been the same, so far, at least, as property rights or interests are concerned. And this leads us back to the San Mateo opinions as given by Field and Sawyer on the Circuit bench. For, while they believed that a corporation is a person, they asserted that it was the duty of the court to look beyond the corporation to actual owners of the property. It is also perhaps worth noticing that Conkling's brief declares that the railroad "and its stockholders and creditors are among the 'persons' protected" by the amendment.

The present writer is tempted to go somewhat beyond the main purpose of this article and to call attention to one or two facts or what he thinks to be facts. In his judgment, among lawyers or laymen there has not been, or was not till very recently, much dissatisfaction because rates of public utilities, as those rates were prescribed by commissions, were subject to review by the courts. Of course, the whole subject of administrative authority has been perplexing, and it has been an acute problem in very recent years. But it may be proper to allege that the difficulties or the irritating conditions have been in large measure not due to the fact that corporations were protected by the Fourteenth Amendment or that they have taken refuge in the due process clause but to the tedious delays and the unrelenting uncertainty. When the court laid down in 1898 the methods that should be followed in fixing the rate-base for public utilities, it let loose a caravan of difficulties which have perplexed administrators from that day to this.

Furthermore, the trouble, if we agree that there is and has been trouble, is not so much that corporations are held to be persons as the extent and character of the due process provision; especially trouble-

<sup>29</sup> 154 U. S. 362 (1894).

<sup>30</sup> 169 U. S. 466 (1898).

some, perhaps, is the application of the principle. It may not be rash to say that no corporation, in common justice, should be deprived of its properties without due process of law; that is to say (as Field, indeed, argued nearly sixty years ago) that as corporations are extensively used, as there are hundreds of thousands of them in the land, as the states have authorized the establishment of these institutions, common justice would say they should not be condemned without hearing, without legalized process. In short, the solution of the problem is not to be attained by banishing the corporation from the protection of law. The perplexities and the resulting dissatisfaction have arisen from the interpretation of due process. Where and how that phrase may be so interpreted as to dispose of uncertainties and endless litigation, no one would dare to prophesy; a discussion of this subject would fill a volume.

Another matter not entirely without bearing on the main theme of this article is this: as stated above, Bingham, when he and his co-workers were framing the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment and when he was speaking about it in Congress, hoped and expected that the privileges and immunities clause would assure the recognition by the states of the fundamental rights and liberties of the individual citizens and notably the rights and privileges provided for by the first eight amendments. That hope was dashed to the ground by the Slaughter House cases, which held the amendment in that phrase applicable only to rights pertaining to United States citizenship; for example, when the First Amendment says that Congress shall not pass a law abridging freedom of speech, the individual citizen of the United States is assured that his freedom of speech will not be abridged by national enactment. But such have been the strange developments of the last fifty years that some of the main liberties mentioned in the early amendments, notably those in the First Amendment, have been made effective by gathering them within the protective folds of due process. So in this respect Bingham and his coadjutors "built better than they knew". Though the privileges and immunities clause was made practically nugatory by the Slaughter House cases sixty-seven years ago,<sup>31</sup> the due process clause has done the job which Bingham had in mind when he placed the former clause in the amendment.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> But see *Colgate v. Harvey*, 296 U. S. 404, 431. See also note 8 above.

<sup>32</sup> This principle, I think, was first suggested by Justice Moody in *Twining v. New Jersey*, 211 U. S. 78, 99 (1908). "It has been explicitly and repeatedly affirmed by this Court, without a dissenting voice, that freedom of speech and assembly for any lawful purpose are rights of personal liberty secured to all persons, without regard to citizenship, by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." Stone concurring in *Hague v.*

After this brief digression it is well to return to the main theme of this article. If the recognition of corporate rights and the protection of property by the judiciary are to be commended or deplored (and neither commendation nor disapproval is the crucial question for the historian), then we should recognize the influence of two men whose names do not commonly appear in historical narratives: Justice Stephen J. Field and Judge Thomas M. Cooley.<sup>33</sup> It is, of course, difficult to weigh intangibles, and it may be possible to overemphasize the influence of these men. There were many influences at work. But it is safe to say that no other treatise in the field of constitutional law received so much attention and carried so much weight with court and counsel as did Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*. And we are probably justified in going further; it is doubtful if any other book in our history had an equal influence on the development of constitutional law, with the exception, perhaps, of *The Federalist* during the first fifty years after its publication.<sup>34</sup> This influence was doubtless partly due to the clarity of the style and the clear and precise pronouncements; but it was probably largely due to the constant citation of cases. The volume was, therefore, as I have already said, not a learned dissertation on what the law ought to be, but an inductive study to determine what the law was. One fact, at all events, seems clear: to emphasize Conkling's eloquence and to omit Field and Cooley, as one attempts to get

---

Committee for Industrial Organization, *Supreme Court Reporter*, Vol. 59, No. 15 (June 5, 1939), pp. 954, 965. "The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution provides that 'Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. . . .' While this provision is not a restraint upon the powers of the states, the states are precluded from abridging the freedom of speech or of the press by force of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." *Grosjean v. American Press Co.*, 297 U. S. 233, 243 (Feb. 10, 1936). The court put forth this proposition as one to be passed upon, and it concluded by confirming it (p. 251).

<sup>33</sup> "Yet, when it comes to fundamental issues—the scope of national powers as against the reserved rights of the states, the unrestricted prerogatives of private property as against its social obligations enforced through law—the period of Waite's Chief Justiceship is in large measure the history of a duel between him and Field." Felix Frankfurter, *The Commerce Clause under Marshall, Taney, and Waite* (Chapel Hill, 1937), p. 110. Anyone desiring to see the situation should read Field's dissent in the *Munn* case.

<sup>34</sup> "It would not be extravagant to say that the *Constitutional Limitations* was more often cited in every American court during the last half of the nineteenth century than any other work on constitutional law. His views fitted admirably the protests of the legal profession against the rising tide of legislative interference with personal and more particularly property rights, and of all the legal writers of his time, he seems to have been the only one who had direct influence in political science." Mott, pp. 186, 187. "Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations* was by far the most important treatise in the entire development of the American idea of due process of law." *Ibid.*, p. 184.

a general view of the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, is quite unwarranted.<sup>35</sup>

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.

*The University of Chicago.*

<sup>35</sup> In the stormy days of Field's career he was charged with being prejudiced in favor of corporations and especially railroads. I am not entitled to any positive opinion on that subject, but I am inclined to think that anyone reading his opinions thoughtfully will believe that, especially during the first twenty years of his judicial career, he was the defender of what he conceived to be the old established principles of private rights. Cooley cannot be justly charged with prejudice in favor of big business. Beyond question we should see both of these men as representatives of attitudes of mind, though I hesitate to suggest that Cooley was under the conscious influence of preconceived judgments. The important thing to see in constitutional history is the prevalence of conservative opinion, holding firmly to what were considered fundamental principles; and there were, on the other hand, new social problems, new social responsibilities, new discontents with the older points of view begotten partly by the frontier. The contest between these forces was inevitable and the primary fact of constitutional history of these decades.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### PRESIDENT JEFFERSON AND HIS SUCCESSOR

[Jefferson] continued to exert a tremendously potent influence in party affairs, to be the party oracle, consulted by its Presidents and leaders, advising, directing, dominating through the power of his personality and recognition of his wisdom and strength. Throughout his two terms Madison was in constant communication with him, and in most vital matters sought and acted upon his advice.<sup>1</sup>

In these vigorous terms Frank R. Kent has described the role of Thomas Jefferson as party Nestor after his retirement from the presidency. The phraseology implies a relationship between Jefferson and his successor without parallel in our history and suggests the place that ex-Presidents might have taken in American politics when personal and partisan relations with their successors were favorable. Another recent writer has described Jefferson's relations to Madison and his policies in more or less similar terms. In 1936 Claude G. Bowers said of Jefferson that "during the eight years of Madison's Administration his advice constantly was sought".<sup>2</sup> Among writers of an earlier generation John T. Morse, jr., in 1883, alluded to Jefferson's authority in the Republican party and said that his constant correspondence with his successor led to insinuations that Madison was only his puppet, which caused Jefferson to curtail his communications greatly.<sup>3</sup> About the same time James Schouler wrote, with especial reference to Madison's administration, that Jefferson was a free and confidential counselor, fitted by age and experience to direct as Madison was to follow gracefully.<sup>4</sup> A few years earlier James Parton had written that the inauguration of Madison did little more than to change the signature to public documents, since the new President consulted Jefferson on every important question.<sup>5</sup> In 1858 Henry S. Randall had published a passage,

<sup>1</sup> Frank R. Kent, *The Democratic Party: A History* (New York, 1928), pp. 44-45.

<sup>2</sup> *Jefferson in Power: The Death Struggle of the Federalists* (Boston, 1936), p. 507. Dumas Malone ("Thomas Jefferson", *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 32), without considering the question of the frequency with which Jefferson's advice was sought or acted upon, says that he "gave his counsel to his disciples Madison and Monroe when they asked it".

<sup>3</sup> *Thomas Jefferson* (Boston, 1883), p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the United States of America under the Constitution*, revised ed., II (New York, 1894), 224.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Boston, 1874), p. 687.

echoed later by Schouler, describing the confidential correspondence on measures of government between Jefferson and the President and adding: "They were just far enough removed from each other by the difference of age and experience for one naturally to lead and the other gracefully to follow. . . . Madison was still in the full meridian of manhood; Jefferson had not passed the mellow autumn of old age."<sup>6</sup>

Even among contemporaries there were many who believed that Madison's policies were controlled from Monticello. A Philadelphia friend wrote to Jefferson in 1814: "If your opinion were known it would be decisive with many, who insist on thinking that your influence with Mr. M. is without a balance".<sup>7</sup> Jefferson himself was anxious that no Republican should be misled by the Federalists into believing that any difference in political principles existed between him and Madison.<sup>8</sup> These statements, ranging over a period of much more than a century, imply, if they do not specifically state, that Madison asked guidance and constantly leaned upon the judgment of his friend and that Jefferson advised and influenced, if he did not dictate, all important policies of the Madison administration. Coming from reputable writers, this opinion of so significant a relation between such prominent men deserves careful study.

The evidence bearing upon this question is found largely in the correspondence of the two men. All published letters contributing to this study which the writer has been able to find appear in at least one of the three collections entitled *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*,<sup>9</sup> or in one or both of those entitled *The Writings of James Madison*.<sup>10</sup> Passages were omitted from some of Madison's letters published in the Congress edition. The manuscripts of these letters are in the Library of Congress. Several unpublished letters of Jefferson bearing upon this subject are in the Library of Congress, and a few are in the Coolidge Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. During Madison's

<sup>6</sup> *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1858), III, 308. In 1809 Madison was fifty-eight and Jefferson sixty-six years of age.

<sup>7</sup> William Short to Jefferson, Mar. 3, 1814, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

<sup>8</sup> Jefferson to Madison, May 22, 1809, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Library edition, 20 vols., Washington, 1903-1904), XI, 92-94.

<sup>9</sup> H. A. Washington edition (9 vols., Washington, 1853-54); Paul Leicester Ford edition (10 vols., New York, 1892-99); and the Library edition, also known as the Memorial edition. A page-for-page reprint of the Ford edition, known as the Federal edition, appeared in 1904-1905 under the title *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*. It was in twelve instead of ten volumes.

<sup>10</sup> Congress edition (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1865); Gaillard Hunt edition (9 vols., New York, 1900-10).



presidency he wrote at least fifty-eight letters to Jefferson and received not less than seventy-nine from him. All but five have been preserved, and the contents of these five can be inferred from the replies. It is possible that other letters may have been lost, but these could not have been very numerous or important without leaving some indications in the letters which remain. Madison wrote at least twenty-two times and Jefferson seventeen during the first year, but the frequency of writing decreased rapidly, especially on the part of Madison, who seems to have written to Jefferson only eight times during his second term. In the first year there was a period of three months during which, apparently, neither man wrote to the other, and later came periods of seven, eight, and twenty-three months. This shows that the curtailment of correspondence mentioned by Morse was due more to Madison than to Jefferson and that the communication and consultation, referred to by other writers as having been constant, soon became very intermittent.

Specific requests for Jefferson's advice are very rare in Madison's letters. In the first month he asked Jefferson's intentions regarding Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who had been appointed to an office created for him five years before, but no reply to this inquiry has been found.<sup>11</sup> On November 27, 1809, Madison wrote a letter, which does not seem to have been preserved, in which, apparently, he asked Jefferson if he thought Monroe would accept the governorship of Louisiana. Jefferson immediately visited Monroe and reported the result of the interview.<sup>12</sup> Another letter, seemingly lost, was written by Madison on February 7, 1814. He appears to have asked Jefferson's opinion of the complicity of Gideon Granger, former postmaster general, in the Burr conspiracy, for Jefferson's reply was devoted chiefly to a defense of Granger from charges of Burrism.<sup>13</sup> In these letters Madison seems to have asked for information or expressions of opinion. He may have asked for advice, though this seems improbable. Others of Madison's letters contain the latest news on matters of state and discuss undecided questions of policy. These may have constituted tacit invitations to comment and advise. A good example is Madison's discussion of the proposal to make war on both England and France, which, he felt, would gain a moral advantage and might hasten peace in Europe, though he feared it would not win Federalist support, while war against England alone would strengthen the Federalists and divide the Republicans. He did

<sup>11</sup> Jefferson to Latrobe, Mar. 15, 1804, and Madison to Jefferson, Mar. 19, 1809, Library of Congress; Fiske Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson: Architect* (Boston, 1916), p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 30, 1809, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 126.

<sup>13</sup> Same to same, Mar. 10, 1814, Library of Congress.

not ask for advice, but Jefferson gave it. He declared that the idea was being urged by the Federalists to injure the administration and that a triangular war would stop privateering, America's best weapon against England, and would "exhibit a solecism worthy of Don Quixotte".<sup>14</sup> This may have been decisive with Madison, for he seems to have abandoned the idea. In the main, however, this correspondence has the appearance of being nothing but a frank interchange of opinion between two friends, one being able to convey political news earlier than the other could have obtained it otherwise. And this seems to be all the evidence there is of "advice constantly sought".

It is not so easy to determine how far Jefferson consciously attempted to influence the administration. He recommended certain appointments, suggested changes in foreign policy and in military and naval plans, and made proposals to heal disagreements among party leaders, but always with a deference which belies the supposition that he was trying to dictate party or administration policy. A few days after his retirement from the presidency he forwarded some letters of application and wrote: "I will pray you particularly as to those asking office on this and all other occasions to consider me merely as the channel of conveyance, and not as meaning to add an atom of weight to the solicitations they convey, unless indeed I know anything on the subject and mention it particularly".<sup>15</sup> This disclaimer of any desire to influence the President's judgment he repeated on several occasions.<sup>16</sup>

In 1810 Jefferson emphasized John Tyler's excellent qualifications for a federal judgeship soon to be vacant, stressing the need of a counterpoise to John Marshall's "rancorous hatred . . . cunning and sophistry". Apparently he felt that this would carry weight with a man of Madison's political views, for he wrote to Tyler that he was breaking through his usual rule and urging his appointment.<sup>17</sup> Tyler was appointed soon after the office became vacant.<sup>18</sup> It is impossible, however, to say how much the President was influenced by Jefferson's recommendations in this case, in which we find the nearest approach to the definite urging of an appointment, for Tyler, eminent as a jurist

<sup>14</sup> Madison to Jefferson, May 25, 1812, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 535; Jefferson to Madison, May 30, 1812, *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford ed.), IX, 354.

<sup>15</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Mar. 24, 1809, Library of Congress.

<sup>16</sup> Same to same, Oct. 25, 1809, *ibid.*; May 25, 1810, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 139, and elsewhere.

<sup>17</sup> Same to same, May 25, 1810, and to Tyler, May 26, 1810, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 139, XII, 391.

<sup>18</sup> *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* (Boston, 1904), Vol. X, pages not numbered.

and governor of Virginia at the time, was just the type of man whom Madison might have been expected to appoint on his own initiative.

Some years later Jefferson proposed a plan for the defense of the Chesapeake. Madison referred it to high naval officers and reported to Jefferson that they considered it impracticable. His letter contained only the highest expressions of appreciation, but Jefferson wrote quite a lengthy reply, saying that useful suggestions might come from on-lookers and could be tolerated if answers were not expected but that he would cease to make any proposals if the President felt obliged to take time from affairs of state to answer his communications.<sup>19</sup> Apparently Madison took him at his word and did not write again for many months. These denials by Jefferson of a desire to influence a man with whom he was on such intimate terms should, I think, be taken at their face value.

The influence of Jefferson's recommendations must be inferred chiefly from Madison's subsequent action in these and other cases. Many requests for recommendation to the President or heads of departments were received by Jefferson during these years. Some applicants were very importunate, like John Martin Baker, consul at Majorca, who could barely pay house rent from his fees and for more than three years bombarded Jefferson with requests to recommend him for the consulate at Tunis, Lisbon, Tripoli, or Algiers. Few were as grotesque as James Long, who had commanded a company of "united men" in Ireland, had been captured and condemned to death by court-martial, had escaped to America, and, while operating a gin still, had been so badly burned that he could not work and therefore desired a commission in the army.<sup>20</sup> Many such requests Jefferson ignored, and about a dozen he referred to Madison without any positive endorsement. In forwarding the letter of a former secretary of John Adams he remarked ironically that the sphere of choice would be enlarged by adding to it a strong Federalist.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. Josiah Meigs, former president of the University of Georgia, was recommended for his high qualifications and was appointed to a

<sup>19</sup> Jefferson to Madison, May 21 and June 18, 1813, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 286, and XIII, 259; Madison to Jefferson, June 6, 1813, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 563.

<sup>20</sup> Baker to Jefferson, May 14, 1810, Apr. 3 and June 19, 1811, and June 1, 1813, and Long to Jefferson, Aug. 24, 1809, Coolidge Coll.

<sup>21</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Apr. 16 and June 27, 1810, Mar. 18, 1811, Apr. 10, 1813, and July 23, 1815, Library of Congress. Same to same, May 30, 1812, *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford ed.), IX, 353.

surveyorship within two weeks.<sup>22</sup> A few recommendations were made for personal reasons or because of “peculiar circumstances”. Jefferson’s former family physician was promised a good word to the President, with what result does not appear. A Mr. Higginbotham was introduced as a man of highest integrity but deficient in education for a consulate, and Madison courteously rejected the application.<sup>23</sup> Though Jefferson stated to the Secretary of War the qualifications for military command of Archibald C. Randolph, his “near relation”, he warned the President in a private letter of his quarrelsome disposition and his Federalism, and the warning seems to have been effective.<sup>24</sup> A grandson of Dupont de Nemours was proposed by his grandfather for a midshipman’s berth in the navy and appointed within a few days, Jefferson assuring his French friend that Madison would be as eager as he to gratify his wishes and expressing the hope that the young man would become one of our high admirals, avenging the wrongs of both his countries upon their common enemy.<sup>25</sup> Fortunately Jefferson could not foresee Admiral Dupont’s service against the South in the Civil War. George Jefferson, a relative, was recommended for consul at Bordeaux. Madison promised to keep him in mind, and five months later he was appointed consul at Lisbon.<sup>26</sup> Colonel John Gibson and Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse were introduced as old friends, and Francis Page as the son of friends. A commission was advised for General Henry Dearborn’s son, but Madison was warned of Colonel Timothy Pickering’s hostility to this appointment. Page was appointed before the receipt of Jefferson’s letter, and the office sought by Waterhouse had been filled already. Madison had the Secretary of War prepare to defend the issue of a commission to the general’s son;<sup>27</sup> no further reference to Gibson has been found. David Bailie Warden was commended chiefly because Jefferson felt

<sup>22</sup> Same to same, Oct. 2, 1812, Library of Congress; Madison to Jefferson, Oct. 14, 1812, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 548.

<sup>23</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Oct. 25, 1809, and Oct. 10, 1811, Library of Congress; to Dr. Edward Gantt, Feb. 19, 1812, and to Madison, Aug. 10, 1812, Coolidge Coll.; Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 17, 1812, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 542.

<sup>24</sup> Jefferson to Madison, May 2, 1812, Library of Congress.

<sup>25</sup> Dupont to Jefferson, Dec. 10, 20, 1815, and Jefferson to Dupont, Dec. 31, 1815, *Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, 1798-1817*, Malone, ed. (Boston, 1930), pp. 167, 173.

<sup>26</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Oct. 15, 1810, *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford ed.), IX, 283; Madison to Jefferson, Oct. 19, 1810, *Writings of Madison* (Hunt ed.), VIII, 109; George Jefferson to Thomas Jefferson, Mar. 8, 1811, Coolidge Coll.

<sup>27</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 6, 1812, and May 21, 1813, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 270, 286; same to same, Mar. 24, 1809, Library of Congress; Madison to Jefferson, Mar. 28, 1809, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 436.

that he had suffered gross injustice from General John Armstrong, American minister to France. Within a few weeks he was sent back to Paris as secretary of legation to the great irritation of the general.<sup>28</sup>

Still more significant are a few appointments recommended by Jefferson primarily to strengthen the Republican party. In 1810 the death of Judge William Cushing left a vacancy in the Supreme Court. Declaring that the judiciary had bidden defiance to the will of the people for ten years, Jefferson unblushingly congratulated Madison on the death of the judge. As the new judge must come from New England, he suggested Levi Lincoln, a firm Republican and a man of integrity, not much of a common lawyer, "yet as much so as any one which ever came or ever can come from one of the eastern states". He added that their jurisprudence was a thing *sui generis*, "made up from the Jewish law, a little dash of common law, and a great mass of original notions of their own". He mentioned Gideon Granger as the only alternative. Marcus Morton was a good man, but inferior. He thought Blake never was a Republican at heart, adding, "His treachery to us under the embargo should put him by forever". Joseph Story he thought was too young, besides being a "Tory". Madison agreed that Lincoln was the best man for the place but did not favor Granger on account of his physical infirmities and mental instability and because of the unscrupulous way in which he was seeking the office. In January, 1811, Madison appointed Lincoln, but he declined on account of failing eyesight. In February John Quincy Adams was named but preferred to continue his diplomatic service in Russia. Story was appointed in November. Jefferson, writing to Lincoln of his joy over the latter's appointment and mortification at his refusal, expressed the hope that no division would arise in the party, "that no Essex man will find matter of triumph in it".<sup>29</sup> It should be noted that Madison did his best to appoint the man first recommended by Jefferson, that he made no attempt to name his second choice, and that he finally sent to the Supreme Court the man whom Jefferson distrusted as a "Tory".

One very interesting episode turns largely on the personality and temperament of James Monroe. In 1806, while minister to Great Britain,

<sup>28</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Dec. 8, 1810, Library of Congress; and Apr. 7, 1811, Coolidge Coll.; to Warden, Jan. 11, 1811; and Madison to Jefferson, Mar. 18, 1811, Library of Congress; same to same, Apr. 1, 1811, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 492.

<sup>29</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Oct. 15, 1810, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 150; Madison to Jefferson, Oct. 19 and Dec. 7, 1810, *Writings of Madison* (Hunt ed.), VIII, 109-10 and 111, n.; Jefferson to Lincoln, Aug. 25, 1811, *Writings of Jefferson* (Washington ed.), VI, 7.

he had signed a treaty which did not conform to his instructions, and he felt wronged when it was rejected by the administration. Madison, then Secretary of State, was already recognized as heir apparent to the presidency, but Monroe was put forward as a candidate by some of his friends before his return from London late in 1807. Jefferson tried to mollify Monroe and prevent discord among their friends. He convinced him of his own fairness but could not shake his conviction that Madison had used the unpopularity of the treaty to injure Monroe's candidacy, and Madison came to the presidency with the breach between the two younger Virginians still unhealed.<sup>30</sup> In the autumn of 1809 Madison wrote to Jefferson, asking if he thought Colonel Monroe would accept the governorship of Louisiana Territory. Immediately Jefferson visited the colonel, urging him to re-enter the public service, and learned his attitude toward various federal positions. Monroe said he would accept a military or cabinet post immediately under the President but would rather be shot than serve under Wilkinson, and Jefferson inferred that he would accept a major diplomatic appointment but felt the governorship of Louisiana to be beneath him.<sup>31</sup> Madison showed a friendly attitude, and Monroe soon visited Washington and was completely reconciled with the President, to Jefferson's delight.<sup>32</sup> A year later the Secretary of State resigned, and Madison offered the position to Monroe, who immediately resigned the governorship of Virginia and accepted.<sup>33</sup> Jefferson rejoiced openly but thought it wise to assure Monroe that his services were held in high esteem and to give Madison a hint on his future treatment of Monroe.<sup>34</sup>

The very circumstance which cleared the way for Monroe's appointment to the cabinet threatened serious party divisions in other quarters. Robert Smith, Monroe's predecessor as Secretary of State, had been very incompetent, but his family relations in Maryland and Virginia were so powerful that Madison had felt constrained to keep him

<sup>30</sup> Jefferson to Monroe, Feb. 18, Mar. 10, and Apr. 11, 1808, *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford ed.), IX, 176, 178, 181; Monroe to Jefferson, Feb. 27, and Mar. 22, 1808, *Writings of James Monroe* (7 vols., New York, 1898-1903), V, 24, 27.

<sup>31</sup> Madison to Jefferson, Nov. 27, 1809 (this letter seems to have been lost, but its contents can be inferred from Jefferson's reply); Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 30, 1809, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 126.

<sup>32</sup> Madison to Jefferson, Dec. 11, 1809, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 460; Jefferson to Madison, May 25, 1810, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 141.

<sup>33</sup> Monroe to Madison, Mar. 29, 1811, *Writings of Monroe*, V, 183; Madison to Jefferson, Apr. 1, 1811, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 492.

<sup>34</sup> Jefferson to Monroe, May 5, 1811, *Writings of Jefferson* (Washington ed.), V, 597; Jefferson to Madison, Apr. 7, 1811, Coolidge Coll.

in office for two years. His incompetent handling of public funds brought him into conflict with Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury. After two years of discord Madison offered Smith the Russian mission so that he could retire gracefully, but the latter spurned the proposal and published an impolitic self-justification. Jefferson tried to prevent the rupture and, after it had taken place, did his best to allay the irritation of all lest it should cause estrangement among his friends, "especially when their sensibilities are to be daily harrowed up by cannibal newspapers".<sup>35</sup> Smith was closely related to the Nicholas family of Virginia, and, dreading "the secret working of an insatiable family", Madison feared that the members of this family would be prejudiced against him by the Smiths.<sup>36</sup> Two years later Jefferson wrote that this fear had been groundless but suggested the good effect it would have upon the mind of Colonel George Nicholas if his son, a captain in the army, were to receive an unexpected promotion. The same day he wrote to the Secretary of War, highly praising Captain Nicholas and suggesting that he be assigned to one of the new regiments so that the seniority rule would not interfere with his promotion. Within ten days Nicholas was transferred and promoted. Madison thanked Jefferson for this suggestion which enabled him to strengthen the ties of party unity.<sup>37</sup>

On the very day that Jefferson tried to placate Robert Smith he wrote a conciliatory letter to another disgruntled leader of his party. This was William Duane, editor of the *Aurora*. For his support of Jefferson in 1800 Duane expected to supply the government with stationery and do the public printing, but he was disappointed when only a part of this business was awarded to him. He expected to control the Pennsylvania patronage, but Gallatin's opposition prevented the removals which were to make places for the editor and his friends. Jefferson reasoned with him, but Duane would not be appeased and sowed discord in Pennsylvania Republicanism and cherished a grudge against Gallatin for many years.<sup>38</sup> Jefferson appointed him lieutenant colonel of rifles in 1808 and solicited funds for his benefit in 1811 in spite of his

<sup>35</sup> Madison to Jefferson, Apr. 1, 1811, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 492; Jefferson to Madison, July 3, 1811, to Gallatin, Oct. 11, 1809, and Apr. 24, 1811, to Dr. Jones, Mar. 5, 1810, and to Smith, Apr. 30, 1811, *Writings of Jefferson* (Washington ed.), V, 477, 509, 588, 589, 600.

<sup>36</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Apr. 7, 1811, Coolidge Coll.

<sup>37</sup> Same to same and to John Armstrong, Feb. 21, 1813, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 281, 284; *Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans*, Vol. VIII; Madison to Jefferson, Mar. 10, 1813, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 558.

<sup>38</sup> Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System* (New York, 1906), p. 222.



hostility to Madison and a renewed attack upon Gallatin. He mingled exhortation and rebuke in his treatment of the editor, assuring him that Gallatin was a man of integrity and urging that all friends of the country move in phalanx, for the last hope of human liberty in this world rested upon them. If they were to "schematize on other men and measures", not the party but the nation would be undone, for the Republicans were the nation. He praised editorial independence but cautioned Duane by the example of John Randolph to sacrifice a little self-confidence and go with his friends, because "the best indication of error which my experience has tested is the approbation of the federalists". Duane felt the sting of Jefferson's lash but was assured that it was prompted solely by friendship for him and zeal for union among the Republicans.<sup>39</sup> Jefferson sent copies of these letters to Madison.<sup>40</sup> The next year Duane was appointed Adjutant General.<sup>41</sup> There is no evidence that this specific action was suggested by Jefferson, but it was the logical climax of his policy.

It was very natural that Jefferson should advise the President on questions of foreign policy, for these had been the subject of their most intimate discussions during the preceding eight years. The month after his retirement he recommended that enough of the nonimportation law be retained to protect infant American industries and to induce the British government to give up impressment, and he thought a return to embargo necessary a year later.<sup>42</sup> He endorsed Madison's peace policy "until it becomes more losing than war". In the event of war with England he urged the immediate invasion of western Canada and the seizure of Baton Rouge.<sup>43</sup> He proposed some arrangement by which American farmers could export their grain in war time, urged the construction of gunboats for coast defense, and recommended the use of Fulton's torpedo.<sup>44</sup> After the failure on the Canadian border in 1812 he thought that Generals Hull and Van Rensselaer should be disciplined for cowardice, that another attempt should be made to seize

<sup>39</sup> Jefferson to Gallatin, Apr. 24, to Duane, Mar. 28, Apr. 30, and July 25, and to Wirt, May 3, 1811, *Writings of Jefferson* (Washington ed.), V, 574, 588, 590, 593, 602.

<sup>40</sup> Jefferson to Madison, May 26, 1811, Library of Congress.

<sup>41</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 468.

<sup>42</sup> Jefferson to Madison, Apr. 19, 1809, *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford ed.), XI, 106; and letter of June 27, 1810, Coolidge Coll.

<sup>43</sup> Same to same, Aug. 17, 1809, and Apr. 24, 1811, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 203, and XII, 306; letter of Mar. 26, 1812, Library of Congress.

<sup>44</sup> Same to same, Apr. 17 and June 29, 1812, May 21 and June 18, 1813, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 232, 262, XIII, 259; and letter of July 13, 1813, Library of Congress.

Upper Canada, and that the friendly Indians should be led against the hostile tribes. He made elaborate recommendations regarding loans and taxes and advised that extreme demands be made upon England as a basis for bargaining in the peace negotiations. Of these specific recommendations his plan for coast defense was referred to the Navy Department and rejected as impracticable.<sup>45</sup> The invasion of Canada and seizure of Baton Rouge were carried out, but he did not originate either proposal. For the most part, his recommendations regarding administrative policy were politely rejected or completely ignored.

It must not be forgotten that the two friends may have communicated in ways which have left no trace. On one occasion the President specifically referred Jefferson to Captain Edward Coles, who was on his way to Monticello after spending several days at Montpelier and could give a detailed account of foreign affairs.<sup>46</sup> Visits of one to the other would have afforded excellent opportunity for discussion and advice. Such visits had been frequent while Jefferson was President, as Montpelier was on the road from Washington to Monticello, but there is some indication that they were less common after his retirement.<sup>47</sup> At least six such visits were planned for the summers of 1809, 1810, 1813, and 1816;<sup>48</sup> it is not unlikely that others took place, but there is no reason to suppose that they were the occasion of any different form of discussion from that of the correspondence except as they would lend themselves to more confidential and detailed consideration of persons and policies.

A summary of this evidence shows that Madison asked Jefferson's intentions regarding Latrobe and asked for information about Monroe, Granger, and Warden. On several occasions he gave Jefferson information and discussed public questions in a manner which can be construed as an invitation to comment and advise. Jefferson definitely recommended about a dozen appointments and, by implication, three or four others: six for personal reasons, four because of eminent quali-

<sup>45</sup> Same to same, Nov. 6, 1812, Feb. 16 and Oct. 15, 1814, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 271, 382, 432; Madison to Jefferson, June 6, 1813, *Writings of Madison* (Cong. ed.), II, 563.

<sup>46</sup> Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 16, 1809, *Writings of Madison* (Hunt ed.), VIII, 69.

<sup>47</sup> Paul Jennings, *A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison* (Brooklyn, 1865), p. 17; Bowers, p. 508.

<sup>48</sup> Jefferson to Dr. Thornton, Aug. 24, 1809, to William A. Burwell, Sept. 5, 1810, Coolidge Coll., and to Madison, Aug. 15, 1813, Library of Congress; Jefferson to Madison, July 12, 1809, and Aug. 6, 1816, *Writings of Jefferson* (Library ed.), XI, 114, and (Ford ed.), X, 57; Madison to Jefferson, Aug. 16, 1809, *Writings of Madison* (Hunt ed.), VIII, 69.

fications, four to strengthen party ties, and one to right a wrong, more than one reason being given in three or four cases. Six were proposed for specific offices, and all were appointed: three for party and two for personal reasons and one because of exceptional qualifications. One was appointed independently of Jefferson's endorsement and one in spite of his distrust. In four cases the President had a sufficient motive for making the appointment without Jefferson's recommendation. As regards foreign policy and the conduct of the war, Jefferson's opposition to the triangular war seems to have had its influence, but for the most part his other proposals went unheeded.

If Thomas Jefferson played the role of Nestor to the Republican party after 1809, it is to be seen in his relations with the party leaders. Retaining the confidence of all, he served as intermediary between those who were estranged, reclaiming Monroe and doing his best to placate Smith and Duane. He did not control the patronage but suggested some rewards for party loyalty. He advised without dictation and saw his proposals disregarded without rancor. His relations with Madison during these years were those of friends who had been intimately associated in public life but were now engrossed, the one in the growing perplexity of governmental affairs, the other in the problems of his Virginia farms. The tradition of a "party oracle . . . advising, directing, dominating", of advice constantly sought, of Jefferson leading and Madison gracefully following, has very meager basis in fact.

ROY J. HONEYWELL.

*Schuylerville, New York.*

## DOCUMENTS

### A PEACE MISSION OF 1863

MUCH attention has been given to the various peace missions of 1864.<sup>1</sup> So far, however, historians have overlooked an earlier attempt to stop the war between the North and South, one made in 1863. This effort involved a Jewish chiropodist and spy who, acting under orders from President Lincoln, visited Richmond and conferred with members of the Confederate cabinet. The mission failed but is important nonetheless. It anticipated later peace moves; it illustrates the attitude of Northern and Southern leaders in the months after Gettysburg; and, finally, since it was closely linked with the Banks-for-President movement, it supplies information on the state of Republican party politics in 1863.

Little is known of Dr. Issachar Zacharie, the central figure of this episode. Apparently he spent the major part of his life in New York City. There is evidence that he was running a grocery store at 129 Eighth Avenue as late as 1857. In the following year he set up as a chiropodist at 760 Broadway. Being an M. D. (New York University, then the University of New York, Class of 1858), he frequently listed himself in directories as a physician or surgeon; he continued, nevertheless, to specialize in chiropody until the late seventies, when he turned his thriving business over to his son. Late in 1862 the doctor went to New Orleans as personal correspondent for Lincoln and spy for Major-General N. P. Banks. He became much attached to the latter and, after returning North to organize the mission described below, took a leading part in preparing a Banks-for-President boom. When this collapsed, Zacharie seems to have dropped out of politics for a time. He reappeared as a Liberal Republican in the campaign of 1872, but never after 1863 did he occupy a position to compare with the one he had held during his brief service as Lincoln's confidential agent to the Confederacy.<sup>2</sup>

The letters here reproduced are to be found in the Nathaniel P.

<sup>1</sup> See the excellent work of Edward Chase Kirkland, *The Peacemakers of 1864* (New York, 1927).

<sup>2</sup> Material on Zacharie: Banks to Zacharie, Jan. 1, 1863, reports of Zacharie to Banks, Jan.-July, 1863, and Whitelaw Reid to Zacharie, May 13, 1872, in the Banks Manuscripts; Gen. G. F. Shepley to Butler, Feb. 20, 1863, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (Norwood, 1917), III, 14; George

Banks Manuscripts, which are the property of Banks's grand-daughter, Mrs. Harold Page of Melrose, Massachusetts.<sup>3</sup>

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON.

*University of Arkansas.*

I. BANKS TO SEWARD<sup>4</sup>

Hd Qrs Dept of the Gulf  
2d July 1863  
Before Port Hudson [Louisiana]

Honorable William H Seward  
Secretary of State

*Dear Sir*

The return of Dr Zacharie to New York offers me an opportunity to say that he has enjoyed many opportunities of obtaining information which are not open to officers of the Government, and that I am satisfied he is a zealous supporter of the Government. His connection with the Jewish Community of New Orleans which is very large and very powerful . . . has given him great advantages in this respect. He has been considerate and attentive to many of the families that have been recently required to leave the Department as Registered Enemies and enabled the Officers of the Government to perform some acts of grace trifling in themselves, but of service to all parties. These attentions have won from leading men of the Rebel Government expressions of gratitude and secured for him such endorsements as will enable him to do what other men cannot do, and what perhaps could not be given to a man of more commanding social or political position.<sup>5</sup>

I should do wrong I think did I not inform the Government that I believe he has it in his power to render a service which others cannot well do. He will explain to you his purposes, and I can add that in my best judgment if his plan succeeds, and there seems no great difficulty in its way—*his experience will be of value*. It is proper to add that Doctor Zacharie has been the subject of remark on the part of some parties here who suspect him of speculation—There is much crimination and recriminations among officers of the Government on this subject in which I have no part and of which I have no knowledge.

I can only say that Doctor Zacharie has had no favors whatever from the Government and has asked for none at my hands.<sup>6</sup>

---

S. Denison to Chase, Feb. 1, 12, 1863, *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase*, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1902 (Washington, 1902), II, 353, 359; *Trow's New York City Directory*, Vols. LXXI-XC (1858-76). See also the doctor's own curious and popular volume, *Surgical and Practical Observations on the Diseases of the Human Foot with Instructions for their Treatment: to which is added Advice on the Management of the Hand* (New York, 1860), the text of which is taken, without acknowledgment, from John Eisenberg's book of the same title (London, 1845).

<sup>3</sup> At present this collection is deposited in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

<sup>4</sup> Copy in handwriting of James T. Tucker, Banks's secretary.

<sup>5</sup> It will be recalled that Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State of the Confederacy, was, like Zacharie, of the Jewish race.

<sup>6</sup> Salmon P. Chase was to raise the speculation charge against Zacharie. It is probable that Zacharie did speculate in Louisiana. See Denison's letters, cited above; Denison

With Great Respect.

I am Sir as ever.

Your Obdt Servant.

(Signed)

N. P. BANKS  
M.G.C.<sup>7</sup>

## II. BANKS TO S. B. HOLABIRD

Hd Qrs Dept of the Gulf.  
Before Port Hudson  
2d July 1863.

Colonel Holabird  
Chief Quarter Master etc.

*Dear Sir.*

If you have in your possession Five Thousand Dollars (\$5000) in Confederate money, You will please turn it over to Doctor I Zacharie for the use of the Government taking his receipt therefor

Very Respectfully.

Your Obdt Servant.

(Signed)

N. P. BANKS  
MGC.

## III. BANKS TO EMORY<sup>8</sup>

Dept of the Gulf.  
Before Port Hudson.  
2d July 1863

Brigadier General  
W. H. Emory  
Comm'ding etc at New Orleans.

*General*

I desire you if it be not inconsistent with the public service, or whenever it may be consistent with the public safety to pass under a flag of truce Mr

---

to Chase, Feb. 5, Mar. 29, 1863, *Diary and Correspondence of Chase*, II, 355-56, 375; Mrs. Banks to Banks, Apr. 1, 1863, Banks MSS. The speculations may have served to camouflage government activities. Certainly Zacharie did not need the money. The government was liberal with him, and his New York office cleared \$10,000 over expenses in 1863 despite Zacharie's absence (statements of disbursements and a letter of Zacharie to Banks, Dec. 28, 1863, Banks MSS.).

<sup>7</sup> Major-General Commanding.

<sup>8</sup> Copy in Tucker's handwriting. As will be seen, Gordon and Pretts "paved the way" for Zacharie. B. F. Flanders, a Treasury agent (quoted in a letter of Denison to Chase, Sept. 21, 1863, *Diary and Correspondence of Chase*, II, 408-409), stated: "Gen. Banks, about two months ago, sent to Richmond an emissary, one Martin Gordon, a registered enemy. The ostensible purpose of his going was to make arrangements so that communications between the hostile forces might be conducted in a manner more in accordance with the usages of military warfare, but that he (Mr. Flanders) does not believe this was the real object of his (Gordon's) visit". Gordon is mentioned in *Correspondence of Butler*, III, 104. On February 24, 1864, Banks asked his Provost Marshall General, James Bowen, to give him a pass through the lines to Shreveport (Banks MSS.).

Martin Gordon Jr and Mr David Pretts both of New Orleans through the lines of the army of the United States to the Confederacy

Very Respectfully,  
Your Obd't Serv't,  
(Signed) NPBANKS  
MGC

IV. ZACHARIE TO BANKS<sup>9</sup>

New York  
760 Broadway-  
July 30th 1863<sup>10</sup>

*Dear General*

You doubtless think strange at my protracted silence. But I have been so greatly dissappointed, as I may say foiled in my plans, that I have had no heart to do, or say anything.

On my arrival home I remained two or three days with my family, & then proceeded to Washington, called upon the Secretary of State, who received me very kindly— delivered your letter,<sup>11</sup> he remarked he would read it to the President[.] The day following I called upon the President who also received me kindly. & listened attentively for more than two hours to what I had to say. He then handed me your letter which Mr Seward had given him & requested me to call upon the Secretary of State next day. From his actions & words I was led to believe that all I wished for would be granted. Accordingly the next day, which was Saturday I called to see Mr Seward, he sent me word, to call on him tomorrow after Church at his residence, I was there at the appointed time[:] after a few words conversation he asked what I wanted the Administration to do for me. I said all I wanted for the present was a Pass to go into the Confederacy, so that I may have the opportunity to carry out my plans. He said he had had that morning an interview with the President & members of the Cabinet, & it had been determined by them not to give me a Pass, as they wished [to have] nothing to do with the Confederate Government. Besides my going there might bring about a complication of difficulties. They might hold me as a hostage. I told him there would be no difficulty on that point, as I should not go without my protection was well vouched for, Mr Seward then said do you think they would receive you, after we refusing to see Mr Stevens,<sup>12</sup> I replied, I will take that risk. He then said if I was to fail the whole country would blame Mr Lincoln. But says he our success has been too great to listen to anything from them just now. the people dont wish it. Thus you see all my hopes & plans destroyed & when I least expected.

I think I can see through it all. They feel satisfied I would be successful

<sup>9</sup> In handwriting of Charles Johnson. Being poorly educated, Zacharie often employed friends to draft or write his letters. See spy reports (in Johnson's hand); Whitelaw Reid to Zacharie, May 13, 1872, Banks MSS.; Denison to Chase, Feb. 1, 1863, *Diary and Correspondence of Chase*, II, 353.

<sup>10</sup> Zacharie left New Orleans on July 4.

<sup>11</sup> Doubtless Letter I above.

<sup>12</sup> A reference to the abortive peace mission of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, which ended at City Point, Virginia, on July 6, 1863. See Kirkland, pp. 210-12.



& the honor derived therefrom pass to your credit, & then *you* would be *the* man of the people.<sup>13</sup> From what I learn parties in the Cabinet are unwilling to give you credit for anything, while I can assure you it is not so with the masses. They say it is all fudge to think of permitting Louisiana to return into the Union under the old Constitution. Am fearful the success of the hour has destroyed their reason.

I told Mr Seward of Messrs Gorden Pretts & Soloman<sup>14</sup> going to Richmond & their waiting their to meet me. He said I must write you in regard to it. I have given you a plain statement of facts, now what am I to do? Have recd letters from Messrs Gorden & Pretts, stating they started for Mobile on the 11th inst & expected to meet me at Akins Landing with papers for my protection[.] I know not what to do. I sent these gentlemen on believing from what you said the administration wished to stop the effusion of blood & unite this glorious country together again. Am fearful you as well as I have been mistaken[;] they do not wish this war at an end. If you are desirous of being popular with certain cliques you must rob every man in the South of all he possess & kill him afterwards. Your feelings I trust are too good, & your principles too noble, to aid in the inauguration of such a system

I do not flatter when I tell you that the conservative men of all parties believe you to be the only safe man the country possess who is prominently before the people.

. . . What am I to do? Shall I return to you? My object is to serve you, & wish to be with you again, so that I may not only be of use to you but of benefit to my country[.] I have some ambition & would be near the 'Rising Star'[.] If on the other hand you do not wish me to return, dont hesitate to say so. but speak plain & candid to me

If you do not wish me to return, let me know what I shall do with the funds I have on hand, which I will hold subject to your orders. Like yourself I would have a clean record

Very Truly your friend  
& Obt Servt

I. ZACHARIE

Maj Genl NPBanks  
New Orleans La

#### V. ZACHARIE TO BANKS<sup>15</sup>

760 Broadway.  
New York Sept 8th 1863.

*My Dear General.*

. . . since my last great changes has taken place in my favour.

I have been traveling through Pennsylvania & New York states, and permit me to say without any flattery, that *your name* is spoken of with more kindness than you can imagine. . . .

<sup>13</sup> Judging from the rest of this letter and those that follow, this was Zacharie's intention. He seems to have the Republican nomination of 1864 constantly in mind.

<sup>14</sup> I have been unable to identify this individual, who, it will be noted, is not mentioned in Letter II, above.

<sup>15</sup> This and the following Zacharie letters are in the doctor's own hand.

And now to inform you of my future plans. On my arrival home from my trip in the country a *party* called upon me, and informed me that *Mr Lincoln*. wished to see me immediately at Washington.

At present I will not write you *what it was* as it is as well to be *prudent* and shall defer it untill we meet but enough to say I left by the next train for Washington, and called immediately upon the President, he was very pleased to see me, and at once commenced to speak of you in the kindest manner, he said I had left Washington in too great a hurry. besides Mr. Chase<sup>16</sup> and others was too much opposed to me. from letters that had been received from my enemies at New Orleans, that at that time he could not entertain any proposition from me.

But now he was satisfied and was able to satisfy all who was opposed to me, that I *was all right*, and was now willing to afford me every facility to carry out my plans, and felt sure that I would be successful.

He has given me such letters to Major Genl [John Gray] *Foster* at *Fortress Monroe*, that will secure me a pass on a flag of truce, to Richmond. from there I shall proceed to Charleston & Mobile. and hope to join you at New Orleans with some good news.

If I am successfull you as well as I are made for life. I have much to say to you, but *cannot write tis too sacred to be written*. rest assured that you will never regret having taken me into your confidence and I feel proud of having your friendship, and hope the day is not far distant when you will say well done my good & faithfull friend.

Words cannot express to you how Proud I feel to know that I have out lived my Enemies, Not all the *clamor of lies* that *they have written*, has had any foundation, and that the *President* of the *United States*, has *acknowledged* that he has *implicit confidence in me*, to try [to] carry out that which no other man has had the courage to attempt. 'What is money, to position' there can be no greater pleasure to my friends than for them to know I have *over come my enemies*.

I shall leave here *pleas God* about the 16th of this month for *Fortress Monroe*, and hope to join you in about thirty days. *you will please see that* a Steamer or schooner under a *flag of truce* will be at *Pascagoula*, so that I can get to New Orleans, about the middle of October.

Should you leave New Orleans *before*, do *not* forget to inform Genl. [James] *Bowen* or who *may* be in *command*. my position. so that I shall have no trouble when I arrive, as you know I have many enemies in the *Goveners* [Gen. G. F. Shepley's] Employ. from what Mr Lincoln infered. Gnl. *Bowen will be appointed military Govenor*. . . . I was closeted with the President for two days & I tell you he is your friend. . . .

I have written you a long letter and it is an Effort for me to write. but Johnson is in Philadelphia trying to form a *Banks Club*, he is crazy upon the subject. he is a strong believer in you. and says you are the only man to save the country.<sup>17</sup> thus you see I am without my right hand man. as I am

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 6, above. Note that in Letter IV, above, Zacharie correctly assumed that opposition to his proposed mission came from the radicals.

<sup>17</sup> A reference to Charles Johnson; see note 9, above. For Johnson's Banks-for-President attitude see his letters to Banks, Oct. 29, Nov. 27, 1863, Jan. 22, 1864, Banks MSS.

you know, a poor scholar you must excuse my imperfections: and take the will for the deed. . . .

Yours, Truly

I. ZACHARIE. MD

. . . . .

# VI. BANKS TO LINCOLN<sup>18</sup>

To the  
President of the  
United States.  
*Sir.*

New Orleans Sept 11, 1863

A gentleman well known to me recently returned to this city from Richmond. His standing and character here, and his opportunities for information from prominent public men of the South, induce me to report to you briefly his views upon many topics of important public interest. First, he went to Richmond in the month of June [*sic*], with a pass from me, for the purpose of ascertaining the drift of public and private opinion. His conclusions are as follows.

First, Nearly all the people 'outside', that is outside our lines, desire peace. They talked at first stoutly for war, but soon allowed their desire to be known. The public men entered freely into the discussion of the subject, and seemed to agree with the people. The basis of action would be something like the terms of your proclamation—gradual emancipation of slaves, and more freedom of compensation.

Second: The object of Mr Stephens mission was apart from his official instructions, to ascertain the views of prominent men of the North upon the subject

Third. There is but one man who believes or talks of intervention—that is Mr. Benjamin.

Fourth. There is no inclination among the people or with public men, to surrender the control of the Continent to European States. Upon this subject, as upon that referred to in the paragraph preceding, opinion is fixed and absolute. It of course depends upon the possibility of finding some base of action on the part of our Government short of extermination.

Fifth. The proposition to arm the negroes, does not find so much favor with the Government, as with the people. If adopted, it is likely to be rather for local defence, than for general purposes of war. All agree that slavery is to be ultimately destroyed, as the first result of the war.

Sixth. Mr. Davis is still the soul of the Rebellion. His health is improving though he suffers constant neuralgic pains in his head. Mr. [James A.] Seddon, Secretary of War, represented to be a man of mental and moral elevation, has more of his confidence than any other man connected with the Government.

Seventh. The army of Lee is reinforced with all the men they can gather. Lee is beloved by the army, all their hopes are based upon his success. Hence every effort is made to strengthen him.

<sup>18</sup>Flanders (see footnote 8) added "Gordon returned here two or three days ago, and . . . the results of his visit gave great satisfaction to Gen. Banks". *Diary and Correspondence of Chase*, II, 409.

Eighth. The people are full of money, which is greatly depreciated, \$12 or \$13 of paper, to one of Gold. but it answers at present their purposes.

These suggestions are more worthy, consideration from the fact that my informant talked freely with Mr Davis of his wishes and purposes, to ascertain the feelings of the people, and exhibited his pass from this Department. Without expression of opinion I forward them[.] My informant is Martin Gordon Esq of New Orleans

With considerations of high respect

I am, as ever,

Your friend and Servant

N. P. BANKS

M.G.C.

VII. ZACHARIE TO BANKS<sup>19</sup>

Head Quarters Dept. of Virginia & North Carolina.  
Fortress Monroe, Sept 20th 1863

*My Dear General.*

Every facility has be[en] afforded to me by Major Genl. Foster at this Post. to do all i require. I *leave here tomorrow*<sup>20</sup> by a flag of truce for the so called *Confederacy* and if I am recived shall be in Richmond on the 23rd[;] in my letter on the 10th [*sic*] [I] Explained to you all my plans. *God Grant I may be successfull*, I hope to see you soon. a report is in New York, that you are about to leave New Orleans. if so, leave word with *the General in Command* all about me. so that I will have no difficulty on my arrival . . . I will now drop a line to Genl. Bowen. as I know he will be pleased to know that so far I have been successfull. . . .

Yours truly,

I. ZACHARIE. MD

VIII. ZACHARIE TO BANKS

Willards Hotel

Washington, Oct 9th

1863

*My Dear General*

I wrote to you from Fortress Monroe, the day I started South. I now write to inform you of my success. . . . Mr Benjamin. Mr Mallory Mr Seddon & Genl Winder came to City point to Receive me.<sup>21</sup> The interview was of the most friendly nature. Benjamin was anxious for me to return to Washington as it would not be safe for me to pass through the Southern States, unless I could take the oath of allegiance so I heard all they had to say & returned here. and now comes the *rub*. it seems that Mr Lincoln has done every thing for me on his own responsibility and did not say a word to Mr Sewart untill I returned. which seems I think to have displeased the

<sup>19</sup> Marked "no answer" by Banks.

<sup>20</sup> According to Johnson (to Banks, Sept. 24, 1863, Banks MSS.), Zacharie left on the evening of September 22.

<sup>21</sup> Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State of the Confederacy; Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy; James A. Seddon, Secretary of War; Brigadier-General John H. Winder, Provost Marshal and commander of northern prisoners in Richmond.

Primier. But the President is true and is perfectly delighted with my success. but slow to act. he does not know. *he reminds me of the man that won the Elephant at a Raffle* he doesnt know what to do with it. on my first arrival Mr Lincoln detained me four hours. locking his doors and preventing any person from having access to him. he seemed to be delighted. with my revelations, From what I can understand. the subject has been brought before the Cabinet and bitterly opposed by Mr. Chase. —Mr Lincoln seemed in my interview with him to be desirous of effecting something but still unwilling to give me his *programme*. but stated, much good would grow out of it. but it required time to give it *shape & life*. he asked me if I had any thing to suggest. by which something could be effectively done, this gave me an opening to make this suggestion.

*Send for Genl Banks. he is your friend and you can trust him with your Confidence in carrying out any negociation.* and let me go down and tell Benjamin that you [Banks] will be sent to represent the President so soon as you can be got here[.] he replied that is a *happy thought*. let me reflect and come and see me tomorrow. there the matter stands. I have not time to give you my conclusions.

The Herald to my great surprise yesterday in a leading article, recited that negotiations were being considered by the Cabinet, for a Peacefull termination of our trouble, and that the information could be relied upon.<sup>22</sup> I finde that my interview with the Chief of the Confederate Govrnt.<sup>23</sup> is already known to many, which leads me to believe, that the revelations have been purposely made. with a view of throwing obstructions to prevent the consumation of this most desirable movement.

I will write you more by the next mail.

Yours in haste

I. ZACHARIE. MD

P.S.

Much credit is due to Mr Martin Gordon for paving the way for me.

#### IX. ZACHARIE TO BANKS<sup>24</sup>

Willards Hotel  
Washington Oct 16th  
1863

*My Dear General,*

I wrote you by the last mail, sent the letter to New York to be mailed. *for certain reasons*, hope you received it. since which time nothing has been done. Mr Lincoln has refused to send for you but has not given me his reasons. but can see through it[:] it will make you to popular. but my opinion is. that if any thing is to be done, that they must send for you as I am Determined that no person shall have the *Eclat*. but you—as I remarked

<sup>22</sup> See New York *Herald* editorial of October 8, 1863: "We are in possession of the very important intelligence from Washington, and through a careful correspondent who has never deceived us in his information of passing events, that within the last few days propositions of peace have been introduced to the consideration of the Cabinet. What these propositions are we are not yet permitted to know, nor whence they came"; the editors were "encouraged to anticipate the happiest and most glorious results".

<sup>23</sup> This probably means Benjamin. There is no evidence that Zacharie saw Davis.

<sup>24</sup> Marked "ans." by Banks.

to Mr Lincoln, if it had not of been for you. I could have accomplished nothing. I know one thing that no person will be received by Benjamin. Except myself. as he pledged his word to me that if any thing was to be done that I should have all the honour. I forgot to mention in my last that both Benjamin & Mallory spoke of you in the *kindest manner*. and Benjamin said that he was under many obligations to you for your kindness towards his *Sister*.

I wish you was here to advise me how to act. as I cannot talk to any person. I need not tell you that Mr Lincoln has done all on his own hook. and has a hard road to travel. as he did not say a word to Sewart untill I returned. I do not know if anything will be done or not. I should like you to know all. but I am affraid to write for fear the letter mite not come to hand. [I] should of taken a trip to *see you*. but do not know how to act. Mr Lincoln is in greate trouble. fighting is goin on in the front. in fact I think matters look Bad.

I am sorry to say he *lacks stability*. he has it in his power to stop all fighting in twenty-four hours if he would follow out my program. it was a misfortune that I did not see you. on my return before I saw the President, you could of arranged every thing. however it is not to late. I wish you would advise me how to act. Write me at my residence 760 Broadway New York, hoping to hear from you by return of mail.

Your Respectfully

I. ZACHARIE. MD

To  
Major Gnl. N.P.Banks  
New Orleans

X. ZACHARIE TO BANKS

760 Broadway  
New York, Oct. 24,  
1863,

*My Dear General,*

I have just returned from Washington, having accomplished nothing satisfactory— except that the administration is not ready to do any thing.

Gnl Bowen, was in Washington with me, he will explain *all to you*, will also let you know what Mr *Sewarts* views are on the subject.

Since I wrote you last I have had a very satisfactory interview with Mr Sewart. Mr Lincoln desired me to call upon him, but that I refused to do. but I sent a note to him, and he appointed the next day at ten o'clock to see him. I called at the appointed time and was closeted with him for 5 hours. he was much pleased with my revelations. and acknowledged that I had done wonders, he also informed me that *you had* written to him a *confidential letter* all about the return of *Martin Gordon*, he also stated it was the only tangible thing that had been done since the war had commenced, but could not inform me at present what was to be done. I left with the understanding. that I would sup with him on Mondy night. at the appointed time I was there. after my interview with Sewart on Saturday morning, I called to introduce a friend of mine to Mr Lincoln. he told me that Mr Sewart had just left him, and that he was verry happy that I had explained every thing to Mr Sewart, that Sewart was pleased to death, and that they would pull together. that they could fix matters when ever they wanted too.

I *supped at Sewarts house* on the Mondy night: and after supper I asked him what was to be done, he said go to New York and keep quiet, if you wish to go down to see *Benjamin* again to do so, that I could do what ever I liked, that the President was satisfied with what ever I done, and when the time came & all was ready he would clintch the matter. '*Now what is the use of my goin to see Benjamin if we are not ready to do any thing.*'

I am affraid they wish to steal my thunder from me. and you know that twas I that concocted the plan, and I am determined that the Department of the Gulf shall have all the honour, I told Sewart. that twas no use talking about me taking any other person to arrange matters with *Benjamin*, except Gnl. Banks, in fact I told him that all my success was owing to you, that you acquiesced in all that I proposed, and I was determined that I would do no more until [?] I was pledged that I should have the appointing of the persons that was to accompany me, and thus the matters stand. this I will write, the ballance Gnl Bowen will tell you.

*You & I can make peace in twenty-four hours, satisfactory to the North, & without humiliation to the South*, I am patiently waiting to hear from you. before I do any thing further.

Yours with Respect  
I. ZACHARIE, MD

XI. ZACHARIE TO BANKS<sup>25</sup>

Philadelphia  
December 28, 1863

*My Dear General*

As for my self, nothing has been done since my return from Richmond. Mr Lincoln and Mr Sewart. desired me to lay quiet untill the time arrives for them to act but I have no confidence in them. they are affraid if they make Peace— that their party will not like it— they are not like you— who has the good of your country at heart.

They are ashamed that I have been successfull. Mr Lincoln told me, that had he the least Idea that I would of been Recived that he would of never permitted me to have gone. he did not know me as well as you— he thought he had a toy to deal with and did not know that when I undertake any thing *that I know no such word as fail*"—It is now well known that I can take General Banks to City Point and that Benjamin and all the chief Rebels are willing to recive you with the understanding that you will make Peace. with *Honour* to the *North*, and *without humiliation to the South*— I have never written you the full particulars. . . .

I. ZACHARIE, MD

<sup>25</sup> The major part of this letter deals with Zacharie's activities in the Banks-for-President movement.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL HISTORY

*Reviewers Reviewed: A Challenge to Historical Critics.* By OTTO EISENSCHIML. A Paper read at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, February 9, 1940. [Bulletin No. XXXI of the William L. Clements Library.] (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, 1940. Pp. 22. Paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents.)

SOME thirty years ago Mr. Eisenschiml published "a new method for determining the presence of fish oils in vegetable oils". Three years ago he published a book in which he presented some new facts and offered a tentative hypothesis for explaining the events that led to the assassination of Lincoln. The difference between the reception accorded to the latter book by historians and that accorded to the former by scientists astounded Mr. Eisenschiml. He tells us that whereas his scientific critics were not interested in him but only in the validity of his new method as a contribution to scientific knowledge, his historical critics either refused to take his work seriously because he was not a historian but a chemist, or resorted to cheap innuendo to discredit it, or dogmatically pronounced it a "bizarre" performance, without in any case offering any constructive suggestion or any facts or arguments either to confirm or disprove his conclusions. Extracts are quoted from several reviews in support of these assertions.

Whether these extracts represent fairly the reviews from which they are taken I cannot say. If they do, I think Mr. Eisenschiml has good ground for complaint. If this were all, if Mr. Eisenschiml had confined himself to answering his adverse critics, there would be no occasion for this review of *Reviewers Reviewed*. But Mr. Eisenschiml generalizes his unfortunate experience. His pamphlet is a challenge to all historical critics, and he makes the sweeping assertion that the kind of criticism from which he suffers appears to be "universally in vogue at present". I am afraid that this report of the moribund condition of historical criticism, like the premature report of Mark Twain's death, is much exaggerated. Before making this sweeping assertion Mr. Eisenschiml should have made a careful examination of the reviews of historical books in this country and abroad. Perhaps he has. If so, all I can say is that his conclusion seems to me unwarranted. During forty years I have read, in technical and nontechnical journals, innumerable reviews of historical books; and while I have come across a few of the sort Mr. Eisenschiml describes, the great majority of them exhibited much the same objectivity, the same good manners, and the same serious concern with

the merits of the book reviewed that Mr. Eisenschiml finds in the reviews of scientific works. It is true that historical critics are often more concerned than scientific critics need be with the author of the work in hand. There is, however, a good reason for this. The reason is that it is much easier for a scholar to be indifferent to the behavior of fish oils than to the behavior of, let us say, Stalin or Hitler. To pronounce a sound judgment on a life of Stalin or Hitler, or on many another historical work, it is desirable to know who the author is and what political and social prepossessions and biases may have unconsciously influenced his selection and arrangement of the facts. I mention this because Mr. Eisenschiml implies that in this respect the problem of the historical and the scientific critic is identical. I agree with him, nevertheless, that his being a chemist is irrelevant to a criticism of his book on Lincoln.

I am far from claiming that the reviewing of historical books is all it might be. In nontechnical journals especially too many books are reviewed by critics with an inadequate knowledge of the subject. In technical journals especially too many books of merit are condemned because ten or twenty dates and names are incorrectly given, and too many dull collections of indiscriminated facts are approved because no such errors are found, or because the footnotes occupy more space than the text. In short, too many reviews are inadequate in substance, deficient in insight, or inept in form. But, generally speaking, I think it may be said that the reviewing of historical books is as honest and as competent as the reviewing of other works of scholarship.

I have endeavored to reply to all of Mr. Eisenschiml's challenges except one. His second challenge is that the tone of most historical reviews is such as one would not have expected "among people who brush their teeth". He may be right. The correlation of historical criticism and the brushing of the critics' teeth is something I wouldn't know about.

*Cornell University.*

CARL BECKER.

*Man makes Himself.* By V. GORDON CHILDE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 275. \$2.50.)

THE first two chapters of this popular work defend the thesis that cultural evolution and progress are synonymous—which gives a clue to the probable meaning of its queer title. The author suggests that "the historian's 'progress' may be equivalent to the zoologist's 'evolution'" (p. 11). If this be granted, and if invention be conceived as a consciously purposive activity peculiar to man, exclusively stimulated and guided by free will, then, since cultural adaptation is largely accomplished by the invention of tools, "man makes himself", to a certain degree at any rate; and, by implication, other animals, endowed with instincts alone, do not make themselves. To many the premises here involved will be acceptable, in which case the title of the book will not seem absurd.

No teleology, however, affects its essential substance. Beginning with the fourth chapter the work becomes a presentation of general impressions of neolithic culture, concerning which the author's distinguished researches qualify him to speak with authority. If this part is read for the sake of obtaining, so to speak, an airplane view of this culture from a high altitude and under conditions of low visibility, it will be found in the main interesting and useful as an introduction to the study of more satisfying general expositions such as those of Burkitt.

The primary fault of the present sketch is the absence of even a rough chronology. This is clearly the result of an overcaution, which prompts the author in one place to say that dates before 3000 B. C. are "mere guesses", an incautious hyperbole, which to readers unfamiliar with the methodical investigations in geochronology will certainly be misleading. He consequently omits even such rough suggestions of duration as are indicated elsewhere in his own chronological table and excuses himself for lapsing occasionally into other sorts of more or less definite statement by saying that every generalization should be qualified by the phrase, "on the evidence available today". Since no scientific proof whatever transcends the evidence available today, this advice is, of course, gratuitous excepting to an absolutist and can hardly justify deliberate vagueness. The earlier chapters are obviously "written down" to a hypothetical simple-minded reader, which may perhaps be a defensible practice; but it was a mistake to suppose that a person who is uninformed is, for that reason, content with confused impressions—or even that he ought to be so.

Columbia University.

F. BARRY.

*Über den Prozess der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen.* VON NORBERT ELIAS. Band I, *Wandlungen des Verhaltens in den weltlichen Oberschichten des Abendlandes*; Band II, *Wandlungen der Gesellschaft: Entwurf zu einer Theorie der Zivilisation.* (Basel: Verlag Haus zum Falken. 1939. Pp. xx, 327; viii, 490. 8 and 12 fr.)

NOTIONS about the nature of civilization differ radically. We have the Spenglerian antithesis of "culture" and "civilization"; Alfred Weber's three-fold classification of "society", "civilization", and "culture"; the French identification of "civilization" with the essence of France; and of course garden variety usage in which civilization is contrasted with boorishness or even animality. At first glance it seems to be in terms of this everyday contrast that Elias has organized his book. This initial impression is reinforced by his omission of the recent literary history of the terms; very little is said with regard to anything later than the Middle Ages. It would have been well, for example, to pay much more heed to the currents of German usage that have issued in Spengler's contrast between "culture" as the "spring" of a "societal organism" and "civilization" as its "winter". The second volume

of Elias's book does something to remedy this deficiency, but a good deal more specific reference would have been desirable, more especially as the slogans of "culture" and "civilization" exert an overmastering influence on contemporary German thought. What most twentieth century Europeans outside of Germany would call "barbarism" the contemporary German would call "culture", and he would exalt this springtime "culture" high above the decadent "civilization" of the Western world.

Elias's documentary chapters, however, are valuable altogether apart from this minor deficiency in his frame of reference. He leads off with sixty-five pages on table manners and the comment passed upon them during the period when they were undergoing change. Next comes a chapter of some twenty pages on changes in the attitude toward "calls of nature", and here again he provides a section showing what writers of the day had to say about the civilizing aspects of such alterations in conduct. After this come chapters on sneezing and expectoration; they have something to do with the contrast Elias is analyzing, but the connection seems to be a little remote. The same holds for "sleeping-room conduct". Much more relevant to the general theme are the chapters on changes in relation between the sexes and changes in aggressiveness. The concluding chapter of Volume I, "A Glance at the Life of a Knight", adds very little to what we already know of the general crudity of "courtly" circles in the early teens of our era. Much more graphic and probably quite as authoritative is Mark Twain's "1601 and All That".

When we turn to Volume II the treatment becomes more analytical; our writer deals with the mechanisms of feudalization and the socio-genesis of secular absolutism. His treatment of absolutism as the development of a monopoly of the sanctioned uses of force is quite enlightening and should engage the attention of historians and political scientists as well as of sociologists.

The concluding portion of the treatise is entitled "Sketch of a Theory of Civilization". The analysis shifts from the sociological to the psycho-sociological level, wherein much use is made of the Freudian conceptions of Id, Ego, and Super-Ego. To Elias's credit be it said that he does not fall into the naïve instinctivism that sometimes characterizes Freudian doctrine bearing on these concepts. Much of what he says is thoroughly consonant with recent work by Kardiner, Linton, Mekeel, and Bain. The strikingly different ways in which so-called Id manifestations emerge in contrasting societies are duly heeded, and the gradual growth of Ego and Super-Ego characteristics is thoroughly documented.

The chief merit of the treatise seems to be its demonstration of the fact that it is frequently possible to use historical sources as complements or supplements of the standard ethnographic and psychographic materials. No one reading Elias's book can fail to be aware of the revolutionary changes in mentality that have appeared in the short space of eight centuries within Western civilization. We shall always stand in need of the contemporary

contrasts afforded by our studies of the Zuñi or the Kwakiutl, no doubt of that, but we can well add to our riches by sifting our own past as Elias has done.

*University of Wisconsin.*

HOWARD BECKER.

*A Short History of Science.* By W. T. SEDGWICK and H. W. TYLER. Revised by H. W. TYLER and R. P. BIGELOW. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1939. Pp. xxi, 512. \$3.75.)

THE deficiency of textbook material in this comparatively new field of study renders noteworthy the appearance of this revised edition of an outstanding manual. The essential features of the older work have been retained, but the text has been so thoroughly rewritten as to leave the impression of a wholly new treatment. The account of pre-Hellenic science, in particular, has been amplified and redirected in the light of recent discoveries. Appropriate paragraphs on chemistry and biological science have been added here and there to fill lacunae in the original version, but nineteenth century technology again has been relegated to an appendix. The sections dealing with mathematics have been markedly improved by the subordination of technically detailed subject matter to a more adequate exposition of the significance of mathematics in scientific thought. Greater emphasis has been placed upon the development of scientific method, although the rise of the scientific attitude continues to be presented rather by implication than intention.

Perhaps the chief fault to be found with the earlier edition was an overabundance of poorly identified quotations taken from other works. This made it almost a hybrid—a cross between a textbook and a sourcebook—lacking in integration of material and in unity of viewpoint. Although the revising editors have not entirely abandoned this characteristic feature, they have, in attempting “to give an impression of continuity in the history of science”, ameliorated the defect through a more judicious selection and a less prodigal use of quoted material. Incidentally, scholarly readers will be grateful that sources are now more clearly identified.

The history of science has come to play a double role in education. At least since the time of Condorcet, it has more or less generally been appreciated that this subject should constitute the central theme of any outline of intellectual history. More recently it has been recognized that it affords as well an excellent basis for a broad survey of the field of science. Invariably textbooks have been composed from the point of view of the former aspect; one which more definitely stresses the word science rather than history remains to be written. The present volume, however, represents an effort to keep both aspects in mind. It retains a nice sense of proportion as to history and science, as also between the various epochs in this history and the numerous branches of science. Moreover, this edition is eminently teach-

able and represents possibly the best elementary treatment available in English for college classroom use.

*Brooklyn College.*

CARL B. BOYER.

*The Earth and the State: A Study of Political Geography.* By DERWENT WHITTLESEY. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1939. Pp. xvii, 618. \$3.75.)

BASED on twenty years of work in political geography, Professor Whittlesey's volume is the first major contribution of its kind by an American student, a work of first rank in the field. The historian or political scientist should find in it many concepts of value in the study of the areas of states, of colonial regions, and of the international seas, as well as a detailed geographic background for an understanding of the present political structure of Europe, the Americas, and Africa.

Presented in attractive format, the volume might be described as a collection of related essays. The writing is clear and interesting, marked by many pungent phrases and sentences. The text is constantly related to the details shown on the eighty-five maps that were drawn expressly for that purpose and are consequently adequate though relatively simple.

Much the larger number of the chapters are regional studies of the geopolitical (or politico-geographic) structure of major areas of the world. In Europe (excluding the Soviet Union) and the Americas the major theme is the interpretation of the present pattern of state areas, excepting that in East Central Europe attention is focused on the core areas and capitals of different nationalities rather than on the present uncertain territorial divisions. Africa, as an exploitable continent, is treated at unusual length and with notable success in terms of the conquest and assimilation of areas of different physical and cultural environment and of the various types of colonial governance developed in different parts by different imperial powers. Throughout most of these chapters relatively little attention is paid to the problems, whether internal or international, resulting from the geopolitical structure of particular states. Exceptions are found in the significant essays on the Pacific basin, the Mediterranean realm, and "The Antecedent Boundary between the Americas" (Latin and English America).

The interpretation of geopolitical patterns, a primary problem in political geography, is a study of development, of processes in time sequence. To interpret these processes in relation to the physical environment in which they occur requires a mastery of the details of both history and geography that is seldom found in a single student. The author, trained in both fields, demonstrates with great skill—notably in the studies of France and Germany—a happy combination of historical sense and geographic technique in handling a large body of detailed facts to produce significant results. In a work of this character and scope it is hardly possible to avoid errors of fact or of oversimplification, but the conclusions that Professor Whittlesey

reaches are not dependent on such errors; neither, in the effort to show the effects of earth features on the interplay of human forces, does he reduce human factors to mere products of the physical environment.

Quite different in organization are the small number of studies of certain problems over the whole world—studies, one might perhaps say, in the geographic aspects of political science. The political problems arising from “localized resources” are illustrated by several very effective examples. Particularly distinctive is the study of the oceans as international areas, as the seat of sea-power, and as the means of reaching “the exploitable world”. “The Earth Impress on Political Thought” includes, as a detailed illustration, an excellent statement of the relation of constitutional changes to the changing environment of the United States; the same professional command of the material is not so apparent in the brief consideration, at the end of this chapter, of current trends in European governments and states.

There is an index as well as a glossary of unusual terms but essentially no references or bibliography, though the reader is referred to three recent and extensive bibliographical works in political geography.

*The University of Wisconsin.*

RICHARD HARTSHORNE.

*Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events.* By FREDERICK J. TEGGART. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. xvii, 283. \$3.00.)

THIS book attempts to explain a remarkable correspondence of events in Europe and Asia from 58 B.C. to A.D. 107. Forty barbarian uprisings on the Roman frontiers of Europe followed the outbreak of wars either on Rome's eastern frontiers or in the “Western Regions” of the Chinese. Thirty-one on the lower Danube or Rhine succeeded wars on the eastern frontiers, while nine on the upper Danube came after Chinese wars in the eastern T'ien Shan. Furthermore, eighteen wars in the Roman East followed wars in Chinese Turkestan, so that twenty-seven outbreaks in Europe are traced to changes of Han policy. Were these parallel or related wars? Professor Teggart believes they represent “Correlations in Historical Events”, claiming that there were no uprisings in Europe which were not preceded by respective disturbances in the Near or Far East and no wars in those areas which were not followed by respective outbreaks in Europe.

He presents pertinent facts in great detail but fails to indicate clearly which, among the welter of invasions, uprisings, punitive operations, and defensive measures in Europe, were separate occurrences. It is almost impossible to isolate the thirty-one disturbances there and the eighteen in the Roman East theoretically resulting from previous wars in the Near and Far East respectively. It is difficult, therefore, to verify his observations precisely. With these qualifications his three sets of correspondence, by groups of wars, are impressive.

An illuminating discussion on the Black Sea as the trade link between



the whole Near East, South Russia, and Central Europe is offered to show how wars in the Roman East, by disrupting trade, produced barbarian outbreaks on the Danube and Rhine. Disruption of trade on the silk route is made to account for the correspondence between Near Eastern wars and preceding Chinese campaigns against the oasis kingdoms of Chinese Turkestan. Relationship is undeniably strong in a few instances where a chain of disturbances occurred in close sequence from the Tarim basin to the Oxus-Jaxartes area and northern India, thence to Parthia, and finally to Syria or Armenia. But the explanatory theory does not require a succession of wars like toppling dominoes. Professor Teggart believes that the wealth of the Parthian state was derived from control and exploitation of traffic over the silk route; if traffic was interrupted at the eastern end, disturbances uniformly resulted in Parthia and caused wars in the Roman provinces. This is extreme simplification of a very complex situation.

Of the nine sets of wars in the eastern T'ien Shan and outbreaks on the upper Danube, the first two and last cases are quite doubtful, being minor disturbances at the eastern end followed in two instances by merely presumed outbreaks in Europe. The tremendous distance involved immediately arouses skepticism of a causal relationship, especially since there is no evidence of continuous trade routes linking the two areas. Believing that the correspondences are not mere coincidence, Professor Teggart explains the mechanism for transference of disturbances in a detailed study of the relations between peoples from Poland to Mongolia. This is perhaps the most interesting and useful section of the book, although what is known about the economic life of Mongolian and Siberian peoples makes the importance ascribed to suspension of trade seem exaggerated.

At one point the argument breaks down. After describing the trade between China and peoples as far west as the Urals, Professor Teggart states categorically (p. 216) that when the Han government decided to make war on the Hsiung-nu, the Chinese frontier was automatically closed to trade. No authority is offered for this very doubtful statement. The idea is implicit that the Chinese and Hsiung-nu fought national wars. But a study of these wars during the two Han dynasties reveals that they were more often localized campaigns by the Chinese or raids by Hsiung-nu bands against individual Chinese commanderies. Only parts of the frontier were disturbed. If China had been really isolated from western Mongolia and Siberia during every Hsiung-nu war, then, in accordance with Professor Teggart's theory, disturbances in Central Europe should have occurred much more frequently than they did. Only the great campaigns, during many of which peoples on the Hsiung-nu flanks fought in alliance with China, can have upset trade badly or created successive westward disturbances. This modification, however, actually strengthens Professor Teggart's thesis by eliminating the three localized outbreaks least convincingly followed by general disturbances in Russia and Central Europe.

This stimulating book, with its meticulous presentation of detail, deserves very serious attention. Professor Teggart believes that the Barbarian Invasions are a "class of events" that can be studied by methods comparable to those used in physical or biological research. Whether his book demonstrates that history can be made a science will be debated. The discovery of previously unrecognized correspondences between events in China and Rome—even though they are probably not so definite or precise as Professor Teggart believes—is at any rate an important historical contribution.

*Field Museum of Natural History.*

C. MARTIN WILBUR.

*Black Folk, Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race.* By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Professor of Sociology in the Atlanta University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1939. Pp. ix, 401. \$3.50.)

IN this book Professor Du Bois has rewritten with considerable additions and modifications his volume on *The Negro*, originally published in the Home University Library in 1916. He first deals in outline with the still rather speculative history of the Negro in the Nile, Niger, and Congo areas and then with the migrations of the Bantu from the Great Lakes to the Cape. The history of South Africa has been carefully investigated and recorded so that there is less reason for some inaccuracies and slips in Dr. Du Bois's account of the last hundred years or so. It was the peaceful and industrious Mashona and not the Bechuana that Msilikazi terrorized. On page 86 Dr. Du Bois mentions the Great Trek as starting in 1837 and on the next page tells that it got into full movement in 1836. The leader of the Boer Rebellion in 1914 was Maritz, not Martiz. An attempt to deal with the culture of Africa in a single chapter of thirty-three pages can give us only a sketchy picture, confused in this case, because instead of writing an essay on the more general characteristics, Dr. Du Bois attempts to go into detail with respect to some culture traits and to omit others altogether. Thus five pages are given to a rebuttal of the Negro mental inferiority theory, and only occasional mention is made of the important patterns of Bantu religion.

Dr. Du Bois is on safer ground when he deals with the slave trade and the history of the Negro in the United States, which have long been his special study. It is when he turns again to Africa and deals successively with land, labor, political control, and education that his book is disappointing. It is indeed a pity that he did not check on his statements, particularly in connection with South Africa, where adequate source material is available. It can easily be proved that the actions of the Europeans in Africa, including South Africa, have often shown a scandalous disregard for the interests of the Africans if not for common humanity, but the apologist for the white man could easily show that such statements as the following are simply not in accordance with the facts: "the cash wages paid for contract [farm] labor are small, amounting to two dollars, or two dollars and fifty cents a month,

with a small food ration; less than this is paid in the Transvaal and the Free State" (p. 259); and "Native miners live in huge concentration camps called compounds, guarded night and day, and are seldom allowed to leave until the year's contract is up. There are no beds and the food is poor. Flogging is not unusual" (p. 263). It would be interesting to know Dr. Du Bois's authority for the statement that "in the northwest Transvaal there are sections where Dutch whites are wage laborers for native employers" (p. 271), and that children of all colors in the country districts of the Cape Province attended the same schools up until the nineties (p. 351). But there is perhaps no necessity to continue to point out further inaccuracies since in his preface Dr. Du Bois begins with the statement, "This is not a work of exact scholarship", and adds, "there are also areas here of conjecture and even of guesswork which under other circumstances I should have hesitated to publish". The general reader, then, who is not particular about details and is not disturbed by Dr. Du Bois's statement, "my Negro descent and narrow group culture have in many cases predisposed me to interpret my facts too favorably for my race, but there is little danger of long misleading here, for the champions of white folk are legion", will enjoy the clear statement and vigorous writing of this book.

Yale University.

CHARLES T. LORAM.

*Business Cycles: A Theoretical, Historical, and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process.* By JOSEPH SCHUMPETER, Professor of Economics, Harvard University. Two volumes. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1939. Pp. xvi, 448; ix, 449-1095. \$10.00.)

To all students interested in the theoretical and historical impact of economic fluctuations this monumental publication, written by one of the most eminent economists of our generation, is of outstanding importance. Several decades ago, Wesley C. Mitchell made a strong plea for the mutual penetration and permanent, harmonious co-operation of theory, statistics, and history to be applied to a realistic, nonspeculative analysis of the cyclical *modus operandi* of the economic life process of capitalist society. More effectively and on a wider historical scale than any of his predecessors in this particular field of research, Schumpeter has approached the ideal of superior synthesis and integration of scattered partial endeavors. He has written a book of great and lasting value.

This work cannot be merely read; it must be studied. Hardly a page makes sense unless the reader masters the abstract pattern as well as the concrete contents of both volumes and treats them as an inseparable whole. The book lives up to its title. Displaying unusual intellectual vigor and breadth of vision, Schumpeter actually gives a theory and history of business cycles, viewed not as incidents but as the very life blood of the economic processes of the capitalist era. Among the multiplicity of economic fluctua-

tions the allegedly continuous sequence of several kinds of rhythmical business cycles presents merely one class of wavelike economic movement. These business cycles are singled out for a penetrating analysis because, in the opinion of the author, they operate from within the economic system and, by following its inherent logic, make for incessant, discontinuous, and disharmonious change. They constitute "what is specifically capitalistic in economic life" and manifest the nature of its "growth", "progress", and "evolution".

Schumpeter does admit the significance of "external factors" (political occurrences, "chance events", social processes, changes in the institutional framework, and the like) as generators of historic "economic evolution". Throughout, he stresses their importance, and, at times, their dominance, demonstrated specifically in regard to the eras of the Napoleonic wars, of the World War, and of the German inflation period from 1918 to 1923, when they played a "supernormally" important role and "distorted" the "autonomous" movement of the economic mechanism. Schumpeter conceives the possibility—tempting to the historian—of dissecting the history and theory of capitalist dynamics exclusively in terms of externals as a series of distinct historic individuals, each one a particular entity of its own in regard to causation, course, and effects. His own methodological creed he makes perfectly clear by pointing out that statistical and theoretical methods and materials should be "subservient" to historical studies and are "worse than useless without them".

Schumpeter's treatment, however, of the history and theory of the capitalist way of doing things is not concerned with the impact of external factors but with the system's "creative" accommodation to altering data operating from within. The history student will deeply regret this self-imposed limitation and the narrower setting which reflects the author's theoretical objectives and prevents him from revealing more fully his profound insight into the making of modern capitalism as a total social process.

From the vantage point of a single simple generating principle, which can be only inadequately discussed here, Schumpeter reviews and explains the *raison d'être* of capitalist economy. To him it is the force of "innovation" which sets into motion a definite economic mechanism which systematically produces a cyclical rhythm of alternating phases of prosperity and depression. Innovation, coming in waves and in bunches, is declared to be the common cause of all "internal" changes, to which he subordinates all other explanatory principles. He makes it all-inclusive and all-comprehensive without losing sight, however, of the immense complexity of historical causation. From the standpoint of logic it is quite a remarkable achievement to combine successfully a monistic diagnosis with an acknowledgment of the plurality of causes and effects. The theory of innovations, in Schumpeter's opinion, is fully confirmed by the historic facts of capitalist evolution. To

the historian it will not be more than a stimulating working hypothesis.

The same is true of the three-cycle schema which Schumpeter adopts as "a convenient descriptive device". He endeavors to ascertain historically and statistically the periodical recurrence of three main types of coexisting cycles of long, medium, and short duration and to study their interference with each other. To him these cycles are established facts. In honor of their discoverers he labels them "Kondratieffs", "Juglars", and "Kitchins"—the "Kondratieffs" or "long waves" having a duration of somewhat less than sixty years and making their definite appearance in the 1780's; the "Juglars" of an approximate average length of nine to ten years; and, finally, the "Kitchins" running their course within a period of about forty months.

The three-cycle schema furnishes the basis of organization for a conceptually clarified descriptive and explanatory analysis of the history of the supernational unity of the cyclical process of capitalist development as reflected in the complex network of innovations underlying the making of the national economies of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States during the past 150 years. More than a full half of the work is devoted to this extraordinary task. Here we find brilliant flashes touching on fundamental institutional changes and shifts in the social and political setting of the period. The history of whole industries is outlined, and a bewildering wealth of data is presented which illustrates statistically the behavior and interaction of systematic time series like output, employment, prices, interest rates, distribution of national incomes, ups and downs of profits and wage rates, banking developments, stock speculation, etc. The story—fascinating even in its isolation and one-sidedness—makes the antiquated endeavors of M. Wirth, H. M. Hyndman, M. Tugan-Baranowsky, and Th. E. Burton and even the more recent and scientifically more up-to-date attempts of A. Spiethoff and F. Pinner appear pitifully inadequate and completely obsolete. Yet, in the light of the magnitude of the undertaking, it can of necessity be no more than a fragmentary sketch. A more comprehensive and most impressive picture is given throughout the 358 pages dealing with the period of 1919 to 1938, chapters which, probably for a long time, will prove indispensable to any sincere student of postwar history.

Apart from an amazingly vast amount of primary and secondary statistical material Schumpeter has made extensive use of the standard works on economic history and also of many lesser-known monographs. It is to be regretted, however, that throughout the historical survey he has not systematically utilized the unfortunately limited and widely scattered historical literature which deals specifically with different patterns of particular economic fluctuations in modern times. In regard to the possibly cyclical character of economic evolution under early capitalism Schumpeter, guided by proper scholarly reserve, has offered merely a few tentative remarks. On the basis of some of the publications of the International Committee on

Price History, for instance, it seems possible to support his expectation that "long waves" or "trend cycles", somewhat corresponding to the later "Kondratieffs", could be traced back several centuries, at least with reference to a description of price data. On the other hand, a merely hypothetical guess that the responsive adaptation processes circling around the South Sea Bubble might have been preceded by parallel phenomena of a similar type could be verified by mobilizing the information furnished by H. Hauser, R. Doucet, and A. E. Sayous in regard to the inter-European collapse of the credit structure after 1557.

Since the historical account of the past 150 years as given by Schumpeter is overshadowed by, and infiltrated with, theoretical considerations, its main value, apart from opening up new statistical material and regrouping historically significant factual data, is of an interpretative nature. Its value stands and falls with the theory expounded. Whoever accepts its premises will be inclined to look upon the historical outlines as a verification of the theory of innovations. Those, however, who think primarily in historical categories will retain a more skeptical attitude toward the presuppositions and norms of the equilibrium schema of the closed domain of a *civitas aconomica*, without denying their usefulness for theoretical purposes. It is beyond human possibility to isolate or to measure accurately the quantitative and qualitative significance of the direct and indirect transforming influence of interdependent functional economic reactions as revealed in history. The mutual cause-effect relationships of the "irregular regularities" of economic fluctuations as historical realities from the historian's viewpoint are generated by the inseparable interplay of external and internal factors and, consequently, cannot be treated realistically as "purely economic" phenomena. This does not detract from the great value of Schumpeter's work for the historian or the admirable service he has rendered to all concerned. It merely indicates a difference in approach, method, emphasis, and objectives. Nor does it imply that the historian is without working hypotheses or preconceived ideas though they may appear unconscious to him and "naïve" to others. Even he urgently needs in advance tools of analysis and methods of description and measurement if he is to write reasoned history out of raw facts which, as such, are indeed, as Professor Schumpeter puts it, "a meaningless jumble".

*Brooklyn College.*

HANS ROSENBERG.

*France and Latin-American Independence.* By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1939, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. xv, 626. \$3.75.)

THIS book represents an important contribution to the story of the rela-

tionship between the Old World and the New. It is based upon wide research in the archives of six different countries, and, in addition, the published source materials have been exploited with the greatest care and in the widest fashion. The story is told in meticulous detail; one occasionally gets the feeling that this detail is excessive, but Professor Robertson saves himself from serious criticism by the pithy and illuminating summaries which are to be found at the ends of the chapters. The narrative is not always exciting, but it is well organized, and it brings out the essentials as well as the minutiae.

What are the major points to which the author directs our attention in the history of the relations of France to the countries of the New World? The first is the positive encouragement which the regime of Napoleon gave to the colonial revolt in Latin America. We have always realized that Bonaparte's invasion of Spain was the signal for movements which eventuated in the independence of the Spanish-American republics, but it is not so generally recognized that by the end of 1809 the emperor was declaring that the establishment of self-governing states in the former dominions of Spain, "in the natural course of events", was "in the acknowledged interest of all nations". Partly from pique at the Spanish patriots, partly from jealousy of Britain, Napoleon ignored the "despairing complaints" of his royal brother across the Pyrenees and encouraged the revolutionists in the hope of aid and of eventual recognition.

In the second place, Professor Robertson places in very clear perspective the policy of the Bourbon monarchy towards the New World. The outlines of the story have to do with the long-indulged hope that somehow or other independent monarchies might be established on this side of the Atlantic (to break the force of republican and democratic propaganda), with the early recognition by French ministries of the interest of French commerce and with attempts to foster that interest, and with the dependence of France on the other Continental courts in the actual evolution of her policy.

Very obviously, telling the story in this fashion, the author explodes anew the fallacy that France had ambitious designs of conquest in the New World when Monroe promulgated his famous message in 1823. And since, within the last few weeks, the reviewer has found one of the most distinguished of American columnists reiterating the old error in this regard, he is grateful for the consolidation of the position which he took more than twelve years ago. How long will it take for the legend that in 1823 young America frowned down old Europe to be relegated to the limbo in which it belongs?

French policy towards Haiti has never before been carefully analyzed. The facts which Professor Robertson brings out in this regard have a substantial interest. How many students of Latin-American affairs know that in 1825 (incidentally only eighteen months or so after Monroe's declaration) the French government of Charles X brought together twelve naval vessels



in the Antilles and successfully exerted the strongest kind of pressure upon the Haitian republic to accept a *grant* of independence from the Most Christian King and incidentally to bind itself to the payment within five years of an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs? That the French fleet in the Caribbean caused a flurry has been long established, but its actual objective has never been much noticed. Apparently not the faintest notice of the matter was taken in the Washington of Monroe and Adams.

It was the overthrow of the Bourbons that brought about the full recognition of the more important of the Latin-American states by France. With the coming of Louis Philippe the attitude was instantly changed. A regime based on bourgeois interests did not even wait to be recognized on its own account by such important states as Russia and Austria before it held out its hand to the republics of America. But from the tactical point of view France had waited far too long; she had never won the confidence of the new states, and flirtation with the monarchical idea had shaken her standing. One would like to see the figures of French trade for the twenties and thirties and be able to compare them with those of England.

These are the major points in Professor Robertson's study which deserve mention in a brief review; often his painstaking research has dug up new and interesting detail with regard to such subjects, for example, as the spurious treaty of Verona of 1822 or Chilean flirtation with the monarchical idea in 1829. His book is very distinctly a book for scholars; by scholars it will be appreciated—and used.

*The University of Rochester.*

DEXTER PERKINS.

*Japan among the Great Powers: A Survey of her International Relations.*

By SEIJI HISHIDA. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1940. Pp. xv, 405. \$3.50.)

THIS is a book which deserves the serious consideration of students of Far Eastern history because of the competence of the author and the contribution he makes to the subject. In this field especially the serious student is often forced to make use of books which have little to commend them. There are a few studies by competent scholars, a few by men of affairs with some knowledge of the actual circumstances, and many by authors who lack both training and information. Dr. Hishida was one of the first Japanese students to receive a doctoral degree at an American university, and his dissertation, written under the guidance of Dr. John Bassett Moore, was published by the Columbia University Press in 1905 with the title *The International Position of Japan as a Great Power*. After thirty-five years he has brought this study down to 1939. In those years he acquired a first-hand knowledge of the continental activities of Japan by serving with the Korean government-general and compiling the valuable reports on *Reform and Progress in Korea* for 1907 through 1917 and later with the South Manchuria Rail-

way Company, in whose employ he compiled the even more useful *Report on Progress in Manchuria* for 1928, 1930, 1932, and 1934.

This is, of course, a study of the policy and conduct of Japan set forth and interpreted by a well-informed Japanese. Its value lies in its well-proportioned survey of the whole period and in the use which the author makes of Japanese materials rarely, if ever, examined by Western students. The memoirs and biographies of Japanese statesmen, the official statements of the Tokyo authorities, and the writings of Japanese scholars must all be taken into account by Western students. By bringing some of this material to our attention Dr. Hishida has rendered us a real service.

Within the limited space of 388 pages Dr. Hishida has probably given us the best survey of Japan's foreign relations yet available in English. But in order to reach the general reader he has had to practice such close condensation that the specialist cannot but regret that the work was not enlarged or the period shortened. The ground covered by his first study is here treated in 156 pages, leaving only 232 for the very important period since 1905. As whole volumes have been written on matters which are here condensed into a few pages, it is gratifying that so much new material could be included.

The work, of course, is not free from errors and omissions. While many Western source and secondary works are cited, some significant ones have not been consulted. But this is compensated for by numerous citations of works in Japanese. The specialist can correct the typographical and other errors and add materials from Western authorities.

Many American readers are probably unsympathetic toward some of the policies which are sincerely supported by the Japanese people, but, as Dr. Moore states in his foreword: "As stable peace is impossible without understanding, it is expedient as well as just that the case of each nation should be fully heard and fairly judged". In this even-tempered and well-documented treatise Dr. Hishida has contributed to such a fair judgment.

*Stanford University.*

PAYSON J. TREAT.

#### ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

*A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B. C.* By HOWARD H. SCULLARD, Sometime Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge; Classical Tutor, Hackney and New College, University of London. [Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World, General Editor, M. Cary, IV.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 504. \$4.40.)

*A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B. C.* By FRANK BURR MARSH, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Texas. [Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World, V.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xi, 427. \$4.40.)

*A History of the Roman World from A. D. 138 to 337.* By H. M. D. PARKER, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford. [Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World, VII.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xii, 402. \$4.40.)

THE three books under consideration in this review are the volumes on Roman history thus far published in what was Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World, a project which has now been transferred to the Macmillan Company. In general, these volumes which deal with Roman history have always seemed to me to be superior to their companion works on Greek history. Nevertheless, the chief criticism which I should make of the whole series is its failure to integrate political and military history with the various phases of cultural history—art, literature, philosophy—or to make the appropriate connections with social and economic history. The scholarly equipment and attainments of the individual authors of this series are well known, but their ability to create a synthesis of their material is not demonstrated in any of these volumes.

The new Macmillan edition of the three Roman histories of Scullard, Marsh, and Parker does not reflect credit upon the publishers. They must be severely criticized for having done a very poor job of general bookmaking and printing. At times, one wonders whether they employed any proof-readers. Furthermore, insult has been added to injury, for whereas the individual volumes of the Methuen series sold for 15 shillings, the Macmillan books are to be sold at \$4.40.

I had the pleasure of reviewing Parker's book for this journal in 1936 (XLII, 96). Despite some adverse reviews which appeared subsequent to mine, I feel myself under no compulsion to revise my original opinion. I called it adequate and useful. It covers approximately the same period as the twelfth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and it seems to me that the contributors to the latter work might have followed with some profit Parker's excellent example of the intelligent and thoughtful use of the literary sources for the third century.

The late Professor Frank Burr Marsh presents the history of Rome from 146 to 30 B.C. in a straightforward manner. He is concise. The clarity and vision which he displays in dealing with this period arouse the greatest admiration. His is a book which the scholar, the student, and the general reader alike might profitably consult. In some ways his task was easier than that of Parker or Scullard, since he had access to better and more abundant sources; on the other hand, his task was made more difficult by the problem of compressing all his material into a single volume.

Dr. Scullard's treatment of Roman history in the period 753-146 B.C. is, I suppose, adequate, but in being only adequate it is disappointing. When one considers the vast amount of research which has been done in the twentieth century in the field of early Roman history and the great increase in our fund of knowledge relating to that particular field, it seems rather

pointless to write, as Dr. Scullard has done, a book which clings so closely to traditional interpretations. Perhaps, however, it is unfair to criticize Dr. Scullard's preference for the traditional interpretation, for whether one follows well-worn paths or blazes a new trail is largely a matter of choice. Much more vulnerable is his habit of indulging in meaningless abstractions. Two examples of this tendency will suffice to illustrate my point: "But the peculiar genius of the Roman People, their predilection for law and order, and their powers of organization and administration, unlocked the doors at which the Greeks had hammered in vain" (p. xiii); "The history of a people is determined in the long run by their moral and intellectual qualities, by their character and initiative, but geographical environment has a profound influence upon racial characteristics" (p. 1). This kind of thoughtless generalizing has no more meaning than statements like, "the English have no sense of humor", or "the Germans love regimentation". It would also be most difficult to prove the existence, at any time or in any place, of a Roman "race".

*The University of Minnesota.*

TOM B. JONES.

*The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933-1934 and 1934-1935.* Edited by M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF, F. E. BROWN, and C. B. WELLES. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. xxiv, 461. Plates LVII and 86 other illustrations in text. \$7.50.)

THIS volume contains not only records of the discoveries of two years but also much detailed description and scholarly discussion. Changes in the city walls from Hellenistic to Roman times are described, and the Mithraeum, the temples of Adonis (the latest pagan temple in Dura), Zeus Theos, the Gaddé, Zeus Kyrios, and the Necropolis temple occupy each its chapter. Other chapters are devoted to three decorated Roman shields, coins, parchments and papyri, and brief chapters to notes on texts published in Report VI and notes on the Semitic proper names. The only indexes are of the Greek and Latin texts.

The cult reliefs and wall paintings of the Mithraeum, some of which are admirably reproduced in color, with *graffiti* and *dipinti*, make important additions to our knowledge of the cult of Mithras, and an inscription from the Mithraeum indicates that the Romans withdrew from Dura before October 14, A.D. 117 (Trajan died in early August, 117). In the temple of Adonis (-Eshmun) his mother consort Atargatis had a sanctuary. A third deity, Apollo, is mentioned only in a *dipinto*. Fragments of wall paintings are preserved, one of which was a scene of offering incense to the god. In the temple of Zeus Theos fragments of wall paintings were found which were earlier and better than those of the temple of Adonis. The temple of

the Gaddé combined a sanctuary and a meeting place for a growing group of Palmyrenes who worshipped the Gad of Dura, the great Semitic Ba'al-Shamin, and the Gad of Palmyra conceived as Atargatis. In the small and simple temple of Zeus Kyrios (Ba'al-Shamin) the cult relief is Oriental with strong Greek influence, the god appearing here as a god of agriculture and, probably, herds. The Necropolis temple was built outside of the fortifications before graves surrounded the site. Its deities, Bel and Iarhibol and probably Arsu or Malakbel, are not associated with the dead. Here was found the earliest known Palmyrene inscription, a dedication to Bel of 33 B.C.

The painted shields were never completed and were discarded in A.D. 256. They were found in the embankment of the circuit wall. The painting on the inside was largely geometric patterns. On the outside of one are two scenes, the Trojan Horse before the gate of Troy and the slaughter of Trojans at a banquet. These paintings, admirably reproduced in color, are carefully balanced and are superior to the same scenes on sarcophagi and in manuscripts. On the second shield is a battle of Greeks and Amazons showing many features of the Graeco-Roman tradition but also many Eastern traits. The colored reproduction is excellent. On the third shield the whole field is occupied by a warrior god, undoubtedly Arsu. His costume is Roman, he wears a helmet and holds his spear in his left hand.

The coins treated in this volume were found in hoards of different sizes and dates (hoards VIII-XVII). Hoards VIII and IX contain together more than 2650 pieces, all of bronze except three of silver. They were collected ca. A.D. 220-251. The mints from which they came, their denominations, and the circulation of bronze at Dura are elaborately discussed. Hoards XI-XVI resemble VIII and IX; hoards X and XVII are of silver. The silver coins found in the embankment by the city wall prove that the embankment cannot be earlier than A.D. 256.

A Greek parchment of A.D. 86-87 records a contract for division of property between four brothers who have both Greek and Semitic names. A Greek papyrus of May 26, A.D. 227, records the purchase of land some forty miles from Dura by a veteran of the *Cohors Tertia Augusta Thracum*.

Limitation of space makes it impossible to do more than offer an imperfect summary of the contents of this volume, which maintains in every respect the high standard of excellence set by its predecessors.

Washington, D. C.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

*Marcus Brutus*. By MAX RADIN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. viii, 238. \$2.75.)

No student of Roman history will dispute Professor Radin's statement that Marcus Brutus is "worth a book". The impartial biographer has no easy task when weighing the evidence from ancient sources, the heroic concept of Brutus, traditional in England and in this country, and the tendentious and

rancorous verdict prevalent among nineteenth century German historians.

The author is singularly free from preconceptions, and throughout the book he attempts to draw a sharp dividing line between history and the mass of legend, melodrama, and prejudice that have cropped up about the name of Brutus throughout the centuries. In his account Brutus appears no longer as a symbol but as a flesh and blood human being with "an incurably cleft soul" (p. 235), humane, even when judged by the standards of his own age, and free from the stiffness and inflexibility with which he has been charged by some modern historians. On several points the new biography diverges from its predecessors and boldly reinterprets details, often without adducing any new documentary proof. On the whole, although modern parallels make the book pleasant and readable, it is somewhat inferior to the author's previous work. In its effort to draw an adequate background the biography has grown disproportionate: it devotes as much space to the study of Roman society and institutions as it does to Brutus himself. The story of the formation of the Second Triumvirate impresses me as sketchy. The poet Catullus is called a client of Cicero (p. 134). This is one of the many conjectures, based on the forty-ninth poem of Catullus, which Kroll, in his edition of Catullus (Teubner, Leipzig, 1929, p. 88), aptly characterized as being "all built on sand"; as a matter of fact, it is impossible to guess to what favor or service of Cicero, Catullus referred in this poem. Whether young Horace behaved in the ribald manner suggested by Professor Radin (p. 194) is open to question. The author mentions the role played by Messala Corvinus in the battle of Philippi, but he fails to mention Messala's opinion about the activities of, and the punishment due to, the actor Volumnius and the buffoon Saculio, forerunners of our Fifth Columnists, who, though prisoners in Brutus's camp, carried on arrogant propaganda in behalf of the triumvirs.

It is to be regretted, in conclusion, that the book is totally devoid of documentation and has no index.

*Hunter College.*

JACOB HAMMER.

*The Roman Revolution.* By RONALD SYME, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, University Lecturer in Ancient History. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 568. \$7.00.)

A historian who responds to the pulsation of life around him has the right to deal with problems of the past not *sub specie aeternitatis* but in the spirit of his attitude towards his contemporary world; an honest and profound grasp of the present often offers a reliable criterion for the evaluation of the past. *The Roman Revolution*, which covers the most dramatic period of Roman history, the transition from republic to monarchy, could scarcely have been written ten years ago; the dramatic events of our world seem to have been ever-present in the author's mind, and it is for this reason that his book is such up-to-date, stimulating reading even for the nonspecialist.

Syme turns a skeptical eye on the democratic façade of the Roman Republic; behind it he uncovers ambitious individuals who, with the support of their cliques, were in control of the state: "Roman history, Republican or Imperial, is the history of the governing class." With his profound knowledge of genealogy and the biographies of the prominent leaders in Roman society (in the field of Roman prosopography Syme's reputation is indisputable), the author gives a vivid picture of the Republican oligarchy, recruited from the ruling order of the ruling city. This genre painting of the historical picture by a composite of individual portraits, which Syme exemplifies in common with Fr. Muenzer, makes the conception of the growing catastrophe unusually forceful. During the Revolution, which, according to Syme, began under Pompeius, a profound shake-up of power took place: the backbone of the old governing class, the *nobiles*, was broken, and new social groups, whose members came from all over Italy and even from the provinces, rose to political prominence.

The central figure of the enormous canvas unfolded by Syme is Augustus, the terminator of the bloody Revolution. A subtle analysis of the intricate devices by which this revolutionary leader "arose in civil strife, usurped power for himself and his faction, transformed a faction into a national party" forms the major thesis of the volume. Mommsen's cherished myth of the diarchy in the principate is deliberately attacked by Syme, who expresses the belief that this myth was the result of inaccurate evaluation of the realities of Roman political life: "Tacitus . . . makes no reference to the 'Restoration of the Republic', and Gibbon knew better."

Syme's interpretation of Augustus is in sharp contrast with that of many historians who try to draw a line of demarcation between Octavianus the Triumvir and Augustus the Princeps. According to Syme the founder of the new constitution in his later years remained the same cold-blooded, cruel, and unscrupulous adventurer that the world knew in the early stages of his life. The author feels that the label which fits Augustus best is that pinned on him by Julian when he called Augustus a chameleon.

However brilliant he was, the first princeps would not have been able to carry out his ambitious program without a faithful following. "The career of the Revolutionary leader is unreal if told without some indication of the composition of his faction." A series of masterly pictures of Augustus's chief satellites rounds out our understanding of the working methods of the cabinet and government of the princeps.

The unjust truth that historical tradition usually absolves the victor is once more demonstrated in the case of Augustus. The benevolent acceptance of Augustus is based on an uncritical study of the literature of his day. What has come down to us from these writings is a loud paean of his glory, whereas the voices of his critics, if they were ever heard, have long since faded away. Syme has no desire to minimize the providential role which



Augustus played in the destiny of Rome; he realizes the paradoxical truth that this politician who dealt the mortal blow to the Republic became the savior of Rome and the founder of the *Pax Augusta*, which brought manifold blessings to the entire Roman world. Yet one should not forget that this era of prosperity was the result of a long period of fraud and bloodshed, the gloomiest chapter of which covers the first decades of Augustus's political activity: "the happy outcome of the Principate might be held to justify the horrors of the Roman Revolution; hence the danger of an indulgent estimate of the person and acts of Augustus."

An undercurrent of deep pessimism pervades this remarkable book, perhaps the most important since the publication of Rostovtzeff's monumental work. One feels that it has not been easy for the author to come to the conclusion that the Roman Republic was doomed from the start. For, "political rights are a means, not an end in themselves. That end is security of life and property: it could not be guaranteed by the Constitution of Republican Rome. Worn and broken by civil war and disorder, the Roman people was ready to surrender the ruinous privilege of freedom and submit to strict government." When peace came, it was the peace of despotism. *Cum domino pax ista venit.*

*The University of Nebraska.*

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

*Les Bulgares de la Volga et les Slaves du Danube: Le problème des races et les Barbares.* Par CHRISTIAN GÉRARD. (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine G.-P. Maisonneuve. 1939. Pp. 294. 40 fr.)

CHRISTIAN Gérard is a new name in the field of Byzantine studies. His book, in three parts, deals with a very interesting question which concerns both the Byzantine Empire and Medieval Eastern Europe, the Bulgars. Part I discusses their origin, the beginning of their relations to the Byzantine Empire and the church, and the history of the "Great Bulgaria" of the Volga and Kama. Part II describes the opening stages of Danubian Bulgaria, its methodical expansion among the dense Slavonic Balkans, and its almost continuous struggle with the Byzantine Empire from 679, when the first Bulgarian state was established on the banks of the Danube, to the middle of the ninth century. Part III embraces the period from 852 to 893, *i.e.*, the reign of Prince Boris, who converted his pagan state to Christianity, created the Greek Orthodox Bulgarian Church, and "hastened the decisive ruin of his race in favor of the Slavs" (p. 9).

The author's chief attention is concentrated on the history of Danubian Bulgaria, which was essentially significant in the history of the Byzantine Empire. I judge that the author is acquainted with the Slavonic languages, and he uses Zlatarski's fundamental work on the history of Bulgaria, written in Bulgarian. He also takes into account epigraphic sources in Bulgarian history and the results of recent archaeological discoveries. For the general

reader the pages dealing with the "Great Bulgaria" or "White Bulgaria" of the Volga and Kama are of great interest because the history of this branch of the Bulgarian people is almost unknown outside Russia (pp. 49-68). M. Gérard, however, has not sufficiently used some very recent archaeological discoveries made in Soviet Russia. In addition to the history of those two most important branches of the Bulgarian people, on the Danube and on the Volga-Kama, Gérard gives some information on other smaller groups, such as a Bulgarian branch which settled in the province of Benevent in Italy at the court of the Lombard King Grimoald, and of which no traces remain after the ninth century (pp. 68-69).

There are some mistakes, mostly misprints: p. 23, the Emperor Anastasius I died not in 513 but in 518; p. 26, Justin I's illiteracy is now questioned; p. 41, not the Emperor Heraclius but his father, also Heraclius by name, was the African exarch; p. 41, Tiberius II died not in 584 but in 582, and consequently Maurice ascended the throne at the earlier date; p. 51, for Chernonèse read Chersonèse; p. 63, the name of the river where the famous battle between Russians and Mongols took place in 1222 is not Klaka but Kalka; p. 110, Emperor Leo III died not in 740 but in 741; p. 144, Justinian I died not in 561 but in 565; p. 178, events during the reign of Theophilus (829-842) are dated, evidently by misprint, 637-643.

The bibliography is useful but not entirely up to date. It contains some misprints and inaccuracies.

In conclusion, the book may be summed up as rather interesting for the general reader.

*University of Wisconsin.*

A. VASILIEV.

*Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum.* Edited by CORA E. LUTZ, Wilson College. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1939. Pp. xxx, 244. \$3.50.)

COMPOSED at the very end of the classical period by a writer who carried on the tradition of pagan Rome, the elaborate allegory of Martianus Capella entitled *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* enjoyed great popularity among the churchmen of the Middle Ages and had the honor to be annotated in detail by no less a person than John the Scot. Miss Lutz has done a service to scholarship in making available to students of the Middle Ages these annotations as they appear in the unique manuscript of Corbie (Bibliothèque nationale, *fonds lat.*, MS. 12960). The introduction summarizes the reasons for believing that the commentary (anonymous in the manuscript) was actually written by John the Scot, discusses its content, sources, and style, and gives a detailed description of the manuscript and a statement of the principles followed in the edition. The text is followed by three appendixes and a full index.

The commentary is presented in admirable form, with printing that

is a delight to the eye, and manuscript readings and sources appear in smaller type at the foot of the page. The complete text provides numerous illustrations of the characteristics of the commentary noted by Miss Lutz in her introduction: John the Scot's attempts at emendation and simplification, his paraphrases and suggestions as to interpretation, his discussions of metrical form and of philosophy. Theories of number and the Pythagorean doctrine of the music of the spheres are taken over from Pliny, Chalcidius, and Macrobius (*e.g.*, p. 11, l. 8; p. 13, l. 23; p. 25, l. 14); the etymologies owe much to Isidore, and the mythology to Fulgentius. It is a bit startling to read the derivations of *Novensiles* (p. 28, l. 1) and *Gorgones* (p. 50, l. 17), but one can forgive even these mistaken etymologies in a man who has some knowledge of Greek declensions (*e.g.*, p. 53, l. 16) and who writes "Nemo intrat in celum nisi per philosophiam" (p. 57, l. 15).

Next to the text itself, readers will probably be most interested in Appendix I, in which Miss Lutz discusses two passages of the *Annotationes* involving dates: one dealing with the twenty-eight year cycle of the sun, and giving as an illustration, "Ut talis feria et talis dies mensis et talis annus bis Sextilis sit, ut hodie est, simul revertatur XXVIII annorum spatium exspectandum est, et iterum si bis Sextilis hoc anno fuerit in die dominica, non erit iterum in die dominica usque dum XXVIII anni sint peracti" (p. 373, l. 8); the other explaining the five hundred and thirty-two year cycle called Magnus Annus, and taking as an example "XII Kalendarum Septembrium" which falls on a Monday when the moon is twenty days old (p. 457, l. 16). Interpreting *bis Sextilis* as August 2, and *XII Kalendarum Septembrium* as September 12 (in support of which latter point she cites a statement on page 294, line 6, about the rising of Bootes), Miss Lutz discusses the possibility that these examples may be taken from the actual year of writing; but, not finding years within the probable period of John the Scot's literary activity that meet the requirements satisfactorily, she concludes that the examples are selected entirely at random. But *annus bis Sextilis* must refer to leap year, and the intercalary day called *bis Sextilis* (February 25) fell on Sunday in the year 860. Moreover, if, instead of interpreting *XII Kalendarum Septembrium* as September 12, we take it as equivalent to *a. d. XII Kal. Sept.*, or August 21, we find that day falling on Monday in the year 859; and in 859, according to the *Breviarum Romanum*, *Pars Hiemalis*, which John the Scot would presumably have been using, August 21 was the twentieth day of the moon. Dr. F. W. Sohon of Georgetown University, to whom I am indebted for much of this astronomical information, has also calculated that in the year 860, in the latitude of Paris, Arcturus and the sun would have risen together toward the beginning of September. He notes that other stars in Bootes would rise earlier and suggests that John the Scot may have got his information from an astrolabe or from tables which had not been corrected for precession, adding, "This

would improve the case for August 21st a little." The evidence therefore points toward the years 859-60 as the most probable date of composition.

Mount Holyoke College.

CORNELIA C. COULTER.

*Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*. Part I, The Divine Right of Kings and the Right of Resistance in the Early Middle Ages; Part II, Law and Constitution in the Middle Ages. Studies by FRITZ KERN, Professor in the University of Bonn. Translated with an Introduction by S. B. Chrimes, Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. [Studies in Mediaeval History, edited by Geoffrey Barraclough.] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1939. Pp. xxxi, 214. 12s. 6d.)

THIS book is a translation of two German studies written by Professor Kern over twenty years ago. It appears as the third volume in the new series of Studies in Mediaeval History edited by Geoffrey Barraclough. The first two volumes, entitled *Mediaeval Germany, 911-1250: Essays by German Historians*, were published in 1938 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 110). Two additional volumes are in preparation. The present volume, admirably translated by S. B. Chrimes, makes available in English one of the classical expositions of early medieval kingship. For financial reasons the editors have been obliged to omit seven eighths of the author's original footnotes and all of his appendixes, many of which are of great importance.

The text itself is intact. It is divided into two parts described in the title above and corresponding to Kern's two aforementioned German studies. Both parts are concerned fundamentally with the same problem, the idea and practice of kingship during the early Middle Ages. The author carries his analysis only up to the fourteenth century, reminding us that kingship from that point on is a different story, that the Middle Ages do not constitute one, undifferentiated period in time. He writes from the general European rather than from the narrowly nationalist point of view, inferring that in respect to medieval kingship the characteristics common to all European countries are of far greater significance than the various national differences.

Kern's leading motif is the uniqueness of early medieval kingship. The Germanic states and the church forged a theory essentially different in spirit and intention from ancient and modern political conceptions. What made that theory unique was primarily the medieval idea of law. According to this idea God, not the state or the king, is the source of law. There is thus no distinction between ideal and positive law. Law is identical with the moral order and ultimately with a particular religion and with individual, customary rights. Law is superior to the state, whose very *raison d'être* is to enforce law, to see to it that the moral order is upheld in human society.

From this theory of law it is apparent why the Middle Ages attached so

much importance to the right and duty of resistance to the state. If the king abuses his office, if he seeks to change the good old law, to destroy the private rights of individuals without their consent, he deposes himself, and his subjects must perforce abandon him. The fact that he admittedly rules *Dei gratia* and by kin-right, as well as by popular election, does not remove his responsibility to the law. Here Kern points out that it was not primarily the feudal idea of contract, but the older Germanic conception of fealty, which provided the theoretical basis for resistance.

He concludes that medieval kingship represented a noble ideal, but that it too frequently remained merely an ideal. In practice the result achieved was often the reverse of the intention. The Middle Ages stressed the sanctity of law more than any other period of history, yet in fact it was one of the most lawless of periods. It guaranteed individual rights, but to such an inordinate degree that it delayed progress and hampered the legitimate work of the state. Kern suggests that the corrective to the shortcomings of medieval kingship is the modern constitutional state—a sad note at a time when the modern constitutional state is on the defensive. The latter, though it puts the state above the law, possesses the technical machinery by which to maintain a truly lawful order. By making a distinction between ideal and positive law, it can get the work of the state done while still preserving the Rights of Man.

Unfortunately, lack of space precludes the discussion of other suggestive passages in Kern's classic. The pages on Article 61 of Magna Carta, the medieval origins of the later theory of the Divine Right of Kings, and the significance of the ceremony of royal consecration are of especial importance.

Yale University.

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER.

*The History of the English Electoral Law in the Middle Ages.* By LUDWIG RIESS. Translated with Additional Notes by K. L. Wood-Legh. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. ix, 107. \$2.25.)

THE publication in 1885 of Riess's *Geschichte des Wahlrechts zum englischen Parlament*, which was originally a doctor's thesis in the University of Berlin, marks the beginning of a stream of critical studies such as are commonly known as supplementary to Stubbs and Gneist. Certainly no subject stood in greater need of clarification, for not only had the history of parliament been confused by its own false claims to antiquity, but historians also were prone to gloss the Middle Ages with the constitutional ideas of their own time. Long out of print and in danger of being forgotten, with all its limitations—for the author used only the printed sources available in his own day—the treatise remains according to Gross the best work on the subject. It is now saved from oblivion by the present timely edition.

In a preliminary discussion of the nature of parliament Riess advanced

the singular view that the original purpose of Edward I in summoning knights and commons was not to grant supply so much as to offset the sheriff in the control of local government. This departure from the traditional view has in turn been succeeded by the juristic conceptions of Maitland and the nationalistic interpretations of Pasquet. But after all is said the most recent writers seem to return to the forthright teaching of Stubbs that financial aid was the impelling motive of Henry III and Edward I in calling the lower estates. Whether their assent at first was essential matters not, so long as their moral support at least was worth seeking. On the conduct of elections, which is the main theme of the book, Riess's arguments and conclusions have found more general acceptance, particularly as regards medieval conceptions of representation, the function of sheriffs in receiving and returning writs, the reluctance of towns to do their duty, the payment of wages, and other familiar features. Of all the young author's innovations no doubt the most astonishing to contemporaries was his estimate of the county court, which instead of a small sparsely attended meeting of interested suitors is represented as a huge assemblage of gentry, freemen, and even villeins. The discovery that the county met on fixed days at set intervals was afterwards so far forgotten that a recent contribution on the County Days has been hailed as establishing these "new facts"! How such a large tumultuous body acted according to the rule of unanimity is further explained by the current methods of nomination, rejection, and acceptance of candidates.

The editor, who is himself a noted contributor on the subject, has performed the task of translation and annotation with the least possible departure from the original purpose. Keeping the text intact with only minor emendations of the notes, he has added critical comments guardedly in brackets. Only the section on economic and social life, which hardly affects the main theme, has been omitted as being now too much superseded. A brief bibliographical list of the authorities cited is by no means commensurate with the ample resources of either author or editor.

*Vassar College.*

J. F. BALDWIN.

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Constitutional History of Modern Britain, 1485-1937.* By D. L. KEIR, Fellow of University College, Oxford, Lecturer in English Constitutional History in the University of Oxford. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1938. Pp. viii, 568. \$5.00.)

CONSTITUTIONAL historians have conceived variously of the scope of their subject. Hallam included a good deal of political history, Erskine May gave much attention to party controversies. Maitland believed that constitutional history should be "a history, not of parties, but of institutions, not of strug-

gles, but of results", because "the struggles are evanescent, the results are permanent"; and faithful to his ideal, he drew a memorable sketch of English constitutional history without mentioning Whigs or Tories. Mr. Keir's previous historical contributions—articles published in the *Law Quarterly Review* and especially the learned introductions to the several sections in *Cases in Constitutional Law* (1928), written in collaboration with F. H. Lawson—have been in the field of legal history, but in the present work he takes a broad view of his subject. His purpose, as stated in the preface, has been twofold: "to describe the structure and working of the main organs of government during the successive stages of their growth" and to interpret their evolution with reference to "the political and social conditions and the currents of thought and opinion by which it has been determined". The book is addressed to students but not primarily to students specializing in English constitutional history. It is meant "to find its place in a more general course of reading, and to permit the study of the constitution to be combined, as it should be, with that of cognate historical processes". In this country, however, it will probably be used principally as collateral reading in courses in modern English constitutional history. The addition of a select bibliography would have been helpful, but the footnotes, which are in the main bibliographical, serve as a guide to the extensive literature on which the author has drawn. For a work of British provenience, a surprisingly large proportion of the writings cited is American. The volume is published as a companion to Mr. Jolliffe's *Constitutional History of Medieval England*, reviewed in the April, 1939, issue of this journal (XLIV, 589).

The findings and conclusions of recent scholarship have led the author to depart in several cases from older judgments and interpretations. In most instances this is as it should be, but sometimes the discarding of conventional opinions may have gone too far. Mr. Keir, for example, rightly regards the "New Monarchy" of the Tudors and early Stuarts not as a sort of autocratic intrusion between two periods of "constitutional" government—the view popularized, notably, by John Richard Green—but as a transition in government from the medieval to the modern; and no exception need be taken to his statement that "the constitutional arrangements of the past were not destroyed to make room for a nakedly personal rule". A further remark, however, which is not borne out by the survey of Tudor government practices that follows, seems to go decidedly too far—that the old medieval system, "in all its parts, continued not only unimpaired, but strengthened" (p. 100). This is too strong a reaction against the Whig tradition in the interpretation of English constitutional history, though in the main the author's departures from that tradition serve as wholesome correctives of time-honored opinions and biases. It is wholly to his credit as a historian that he does not hesitate to do justice to lost causes. Even the parliamentary



system of the eighteenth century receives a word of commendation: "It is impossible to close the record of the unreformed House of Commons without a tribute to the wisdom, courage, loyalty and success with which it had to the last discharged its trust to the people of England, and a regret that its end should have been effected in such a way as to leave on it the stigma of corruption and decay" (p. 404). Perhaps here, however, there is something of the wistful backward look: Mr. Keir's judgment may have been influenced by his awareness of what he later calls "disquieting tendencies" inherent in recent parliamentary developments (pp. 461 f.).

The thoughtful student will find much to think about in the discussions of events and tendencies outside the sphere of government and law which have contributed to the development of the constitution. He will, for example, gain a sense of the relation of emergency and crisis—internal and external—to Tudor constitutional evolution and of changed conditions in the early seventeenth century to the conflict between the crown and its opponents, though he will not receive an adequate impression of the moral force of Puritanism. In setting the background for "The Classical Age of the Constitution" (the period 1714-82) Mr. Keir emphasizes the political stability and sense of security in eighteenth century England—in marked contrast with the turmoil and instability of the preceding century—its spirit of tolerance and its prosperity, and the relation of these to the popular veneration for the constitution and the absence of general demand for political reform; the dominance of Locke's political thought, however, is not made clear. The author's observations on *laissez faire* and its decline in relation to the functions of government are excellent.

The attentive reader may be confused by an occasional inconsistency or contradiction which more careful revision would have removed, as when he reads, "Nothing however venerable and sacred could protect itself against a statute of the realm, or impose any limit on parliamentary intervention" (p. 135), although it has previously been pointed out that in the matter of the succession to the throne parliamentary authority failed to defeat legitimism (pp. 102-104), and legitimism was not even venerable. Again, "Could Parliament abridge the Prerogative? Could the Common Law courts prescribe its limits? It must be confessed that the authority of either to do so was doubtful" (p. 152); but on the preceding page, "There seems to be nothing that it [Parliament] cannot do". The "rigid dependence" of Wentworth and Laud's system of "Thorough" on "the strict letter of the law" is strongly emphasized (p. 197), yet the attempts to derive revenue from the forest courts are regarded as "doubtfully legal" (p. 202). The constitutional authority of the first three Georges "enabled them to make a free choice of their ministers"—on page 317—but later, "The King's freedom of choice was obviously restricted by several conditions" (p. 320), and, "Reviewing the whole period from Walpole's fall to the end of

George II's reign, it may be said that the King's ability to form and maintain ministries was steadily on the decline" (p. 333).

In the first edition of a work of this scope a good many errata are to be expected. Most of the following can easily be corrected in a later edition. Sir Thomas More's "appeal to a fundamental law limiting the legislative capacity of the Crown in Parliament" was hardly "the last ray of an expiring luminary" (p. 66); appeals to higher law, above parliament, were made in the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth century. Henry VII's treason act was passed in 1495, not 1487 (p. 105). The distinction between colonies "originating as fiefs" and colonies "originating by charters" (p. 346) is a distinction without a difference; colonies which originated as fiefs, such as Pennsylvania, also originated by charters. Similarly unsound is the distinction between "proprietary" and "chartered" colonies (pp. 352, 355). The statement that the East India Company was incorporated to trade with the East Indies, Asia, "Africa", and "America" needs to be qualified (p. 449). Rhode Island was not a member of the New England Confederacy (p. 347). The Quebec Act did not affect the westward expansion of all the seaboard colonies (p. 359). The change in the molasses tax referred to on page 359 was not a part of Townshend's "comprehensive scheme". Royal influence based on patronage did more than "threaten" to impair "the independence of the legislature" (p. 373). Rockingham's death occurred in 1782, not 1783 (p. 379). The statement that Shelburne's government was "avowedly based on royal influence and support" (p. 379) is not sustained convincingly by a footnote which cites Horace Walpole, via Erskine May, and the author's cautionary comment, "But Walpole is not very good evidence." The scope of the *Durham Report* was not limited to the Canadas (pp. 433, 444). It was not Wellington, but Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who made the remark about the *Durham Report* quoted on page 445. It is misleading to say that the elective element in the New South Wales legislative council was "increased" in 1842 (p. 446); there had been no elective element in the council before. The author's opinion that "the procedure set up under the [Parliament] Act is likely to be virtually inoperative throughout the second half of the life of an average House of Commons" seems to be based on the mistaken view that under the terms of the Parliament Act a bill, in order to become law, must be passed in three successive sessions of the same house of commons (p. 479). The size of the British cabinet has not "steadily increased" except at the time of the war cabinets (p. 491); it was reduced to ten members in the National Government formed in August, 1931. General Smuts did not enter the war cabinet in 1916 (p. 492). It is not quite correct to say that under the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution two thirds of the members of the Indian legislative assembly were elective (p. 533), and the impression is given that the federal provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, have actually gone into operation (p. 534).

Obligatory reservation is not provided for in the Canadian constitution (p. 538), and the reader is given to understand that the provisions of the Statute of Westminster are not operative in respect of Canada (p. 544).

It is not easy to discover any principles that have been followed in the compilation of the index. Some of the acts and judicial cases referred to in the text appear in it but by no means all of them. It is not complete even as to proper names.

But I would not close on a note of faultfinding. This book deserves to be widely used. In no other single volume covering its subject is there to be found anything like the extent and variety of material that Mr. Keir offers or the quality of informed reflection.

*Columbia University.*

R. L. SCHUYLER.

*A History of the Expansion of Christianity.* By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Volume III, *Three Centuries of Advance, A. D. 1500-A. D. 1800.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1939. Pp. ix, 503. \$3.50.)

THIS third volume of Professor Latourette's monumental work may be conveniently divided into three parts. An introductory chapter of over fifty pages is devoted to an examination of the status of Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The "Thousand Years of Uncertainty" (the subject of the author's second volume) had ended on "a minor note". The Christian faith seemed to be threatened with decay, if not extinction. In Asia and Africa Islam had won large regions away from the Cross. The Renaissance was turning the minds of thinkers to the pagan literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome. The Catholic Church was discredited by the worldliness and corruption of the "heathen popes". The new nationalism was stirring in many parts of Europe, exalting the secular ruler at the expense of the political and financial influence of the court of Rome. The feudal, manorial, agricultural economy was beginning to yield to the nascent interests of a commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, Christianity, far from dying out, acquired a vitality and underwent an expansion in the three centuries 1500 to 1800 such as it had not known during its entire previous history. The reasons for this new lease of life Professor Latourette finds in the fact that Christianity, especially through the varieties of experience furnished by Protestantism, penetrated more deeply into the mind of the common man and that it followed the explorers of the greatest age of geographical expansion in the history of the world.

The bulk of the volume (pp. 55-351) traces in great detail and with a marvelous wealth of information the spread of Christianity during these three centuries in Europe, the Near East, Africa, Spanish and French America, the British colonies, Russia, India, Japan, China, and the islands of the East. Both the revived Roman Church (now become a sect among

sects) and the eagerly competing Protestant bodies joined their efforts in the most active crusade of religion since the sweep of Mohammedanism through the Near East and the lands of the southern Mediterranean shore. The breakup of the medieval church, looked on at first as fatal to the fortunes of Christianity, proved rather to be a stimulus to its spread. The dividing cells retained the vigor of the parent bodies.

In accordance with his plan in the first two volumes, Professor Latourette concludes his study with two illuminating chapters on the influence of Christianity on its environment and the influence of the environment on Christianity in the centuries 1500 to 1800. These are the most interesting chapters in the book. With a wealth of illustration the author describes the effect of Christianity on the politics, the social reforms, the intellectual development, the international relations, the art, letters, architecture, music, and drama of the countries under review and traces the no less marked effects of the spirit and fortunes of these peoples on the development of Christianity. "It is one of the amazing facts of history", he concludes, "that this apparently dying religion experienced the greatest revival which it had yet known, moulded the new Europe more effectively than it had that of the Middle Ages, and, accompanying the explorers, merchants and colonizers, spread over a larger proportion of the earth's surface than either it or any other religion had yet done, and modified profoundly the new communities which Europeans had established and the impact of Europeans upon non-Europeans" (p. 451). Like an ardent apologist, Professor Latourette perhaps minimizes other and more mundane forces which were molding the Europe of those three centuries.

A bibliography of twenty-eight closely printed pages testifies to the enormous amount of research which has gone into the preparation of this volume.

*Columbia University.*

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

*The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship.* By FRANKLIN LE VAN BAUMER, Instructor in History, Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 259. \$2.50.)

ON completing the reading of this monograph one may feel that the title would more appropriately have been "Henry VIII's propagandist campaign", the title of Appendix A. In the body of the book sections II to VI contain an excellent discussion of the Henrician statutes and pamphlets as bearing on "the cult of authority", "the king and the law", and "the king's moral responsibility"; but the new thing, which often runs along incidentally, lies more in the study of the extraordinarily successful handling of the adolescent press—that new tool in the hands of kings. As far as the printed page goes, present-day propaganda appears to function about where Henry left it. "Between 1532 and 1547 the government alone prescribed the intel-

lectual diet of the English public, and seldom was the latter permitted to partake of forbidden fruit. . . . There were official declarations to startle the timid, translations to satisfy the pedants and historians, Latin works to influence the learned, legal treatises to interest the lawyers, tracts preaching the sinfulness of rebellion to bring the religious into line, scurrilous pamphlets to attract the salacious and sensational-minded, and even poems to lull those musically inclined into obedience". As to the theory of kingship itself, when we come to the conclusion of the whole matter, it was in the ecclesiastical realm, as has often been shown, that there was creation; for the rest, the king should rule largely in conjunction with parliament, he was "subordinate to natural and positive law", and (to quote the author's final sentence) "it remained for a later age to propound the doctrine of divine right and unlimited royal sovereignty".

Yet even so, the unfolding of a Tudor present out of a medieval past is made to appear a bit too revolutionary. The first section, "the theory of kingship in retrospect", is the least satisfactory. The author sees not so clearly beyond the fifteenth century. Fortescue and S. B. Chrimes's work on the constitutional ideas of that century are stretched back too far. Medieval England is run too much into one mold. The heights and the valleys, the startling foregleams, are not made to appear. Surely the Lancastrian Fortescue was often the rationalizer of the past rather than its direct utterance. And Professor Chrimes sticks well to his century. The painfully familiar things—the Conqueror's limitations on pope and church, the compromise of 1107 and its definitions in the Constitutions of Clarendon, the nationalism of the thirteenth century with the consequent subtly changing content of *ecclesia Anglicana*, the slowly defined boundary between spiritual and temporal jurisdictions in writs of prohibition to courts Christian (of which the king had knowledge and, when he chose, control), the distinction between king and crown, *De Asportatis*, *Provisors*, *Praemunire*—such things must be ever in mind if their period be touched at all, even if they are routine and old. There was not great suddenness in the acts and thoughts of 1529 to 1547. The Henrician pamphleteers were using precedent, and they could find it in abundance. As Professor Gray has recently noted (in the April number of this *Review*, p. 621), "the authoritarian tendencies of Tudor monarchs were largely a continuation of the methods of their predecessors". And may it be permitted to remark here that a rereading of Stubbs's *Select Charters* always turns out to be illuminating.

The bibliography of early Tudor literature on political theory in Appendix B, with the added notes on original and secondary material, is exceedingly valuable, and the whole study is a welcome and attractive introduction to any advanced work in the Tudor and Stuart periods.

*The University of Minnesota.*

A. B. WHITE.

*The Elizabethan Journals: Being a Record of Those Things most talked of during the Years 1591-1603; Comprising An Elizabethan Journal, 1591-4, A Second Elizabethan Journal, 1595-8, A Last Elizabethan Journal, 1599-1603.* By G. B. HARRISON. Revised and reprinted edition of journals first published in 1928, 1931, and 1933, respectively. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xiii, 395, 379, 364. \$4.50.)

WITH extraordinary industry and more than a little discrimination Mr. Harrison has dug from dusty records a vast quantity of material which he has strung together to make this synthetic journal of events during the last twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The inspiration for this journal came to him after thinking over the popular reception given Charlie Chaplin in England in 1921. There were events of greater importance in that year, but Englishmen apparently showed more interest in Chaplin's visit than in any other single happening. Pondering on this phenomenon, Mr. Harrison decided that Elizabethan Englishmen were similarly interested in matters that elude formal historians. "It seemed, therefore", he says in his preface, "that to understand the interests of Englishmen during the age of Shakespeare, a new kind of history book was necessary, a record of those things most talked of when Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson, Bacon, Donne, and the rest were writing and first being read." To make such a book Mr. Harrison searched pamphlets, ballads, diaries, court records, letters, travel narratives, histories, and other documents for interesting and entertaining morsels which, presumably, the man in the street might have talked about in the years 1591-1603. These bits the compiler has put down, day by day, as a diary keeper might have entered them, and he has given his own epitomes of events an Elizabethan flavor by a temperate use of archaic diction. Some documents are summarized and paraphrased; others are quoted verbatim. Spelling is modernized. The compilation does indeed give the impression of being a journal—but a journal kept by a singularly omniscient Elizabethan who had access to documents of state that no ordinary man could have known about or would have dared to talk about had he known them.

Just what audience Mr. Harrison intended to reach, it is difficult to tell. Although any person interested in the period may pick up suggestions and possible clues in reading through the journal, it is not properly a source book. The advanced student will find little use for it, and it is not a safe work for beginners, who may confuse the compiler's summaries with the wording of original documents. Furthermore, the book does not give a sufficiently balanced view of the times to be an adequate "background for literature", as the compiler suggests as its purpose. The student of Elizabethan literature may find much in this volume to interest and even entertain him, but the book's limited utility hardly justifies the industry and skill that went into its compilation.

*The Huntington Library.*

LOUIS B. WRIGHT.

*Charles I and his Earlier Parliaments: A Vindication and a Challenge.* By HAROLD P. COOKE, Sometime Lecturer in the University of Durham. (London: Sheldon Press. 1939. Pp. xv, 175. 7s. 6d.)

THE cult of King Charles the Martyr dies hard. Mr. Cooke sets out to prove that in dealing with parliament between 1625 and 1629 Charles showed himself logical and strong, patient and transparently honest, while the leaders of the commons were "false to their most solemn pledges and acted without shame or scruple". They were "men utterly devoid of a tincture of honesty, of honour or of humour". They broke their promise to assist the crown in case of war. They refused supply in order to starve the king when he was in great financial straits and thus reduce the monarchy to ruin. They looked forward to Charles's death by declaring in 1629 that anyone who advised tonnage and poundage was a "capital" enemy of the kingdom. "Red revolution, in short, was now looming upon the horizon."

No one would deny that the commons were often violent and unreasonable. They were quick to take advantage of the blunders of the king, they could shift their ground when it suited their purpose, they were at times disingenuous. Mr. Cooke is well within his rights to remind us of these things. But he goes much further. He sees a wicked and sinister motive behind every move of the commons and makes no allowance for differences of opinion in the house. The actions of the king, on the other hand, are always depicted as above reproach. Building his book largely around the parliament of 1625, Mr. Cooke forgets the long background of the struggle, the gradual accumulation of grievances and irritations, military failure, and, above all, the position of Buckingham and the universal hatred with which he was regarded. Thus the author's approach is fundamentally unhistorical, and his book becomes a piece of special pleading.

Mr. Cooke works with original sources though not with manuscripts. But his methods are open to question. Materials that do not support his thesis are subjected to severe, even captious, criticism, and if flaws appear, the materials are rejected as worthless. Thus he finds inaccuracies in Eliot's account of the parliament of 1625 (no difficult matter) and then denounces the whole account as fraudulent and false. He disposes of Hacket's life of Williams in the same fashion. In other words, he does not distinguish a source that is valuable but must be used with caution from a source that is worthless. He attempts to subject Gardiner's great history to a similar process, though he is forced to criticize Gardiner's presentation of facts rather than the facts themselves. Throughout the book he writes with deep conviction of the truth of his own point of view.

*The University of Minnesota.*

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON.



*The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering.* By LAWRENCE A. HARPER. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 503. \$3.75.)

THE Navigation Acts, as a perplexed colonial governor once put it, are "dark and difficult" and "far from being so clear as he that runs may read them". His perplexity has been shared by historians who have sought to understand either the exact meaning of these measures or their actual results. In this treatise Professor Harper has done much to bring a clarifying light into the darkness and has answered some vital questions. He is concerned with the Navigation Laws primarily as "a deliberately planned attempt to regulate economic conduct along predetermined lines", a subject of particular interest in our day. He seeks to discover what the acts provided, how they were administered, and what their results were in terms of their original purpose—the upbuilding of England's shipping.

The study is divided into four parts. The first, dealing with origins, describes the efforts of parliament to encourage shipping by legislation from the time of Richard II to the end of the seventeenth century, culminating in the series of important laws passed between 1660 and 1696. This section, unfortunately, leaves something to be desired, for the statements of the content of the various acts are not always as clearly or as forcefully put as they might be. But the deficiency is fully offset by an appendix at the end of the volume giving in extremely useful topical form a detailed summary of all the important acts from 1660 to repeal in 1849. The second and third parts of the book deal with enforcement in England and the colonies and are essentially studies of the agencies of administration and the problems which they met during the last forty years of the seventeenth century.

In Part IV, "Results", the longest and most important in the book, the chronological scope widens to include the whole period from Elizabeth to Victoria, thereby providing data from both before and after the period of enforcement. By examining closely and in turn each branch of England's sea-borne commerce, domestic and foreign, this section tries to answer the question of how far the acts did foster English shipping, train English sailors, and employ English shipwrights. The author is not concerned with the effect upon colonial economic life—he has dealt with that question elsewhere—nor is he directly interested in investigating that will-o'-the-wisp, the balance of trade. Ships and sailors are his real concern. One may admire such steadfastness in clinging to an objective while still questioning whether the acts were passed with quite such singleness of purpose as the author implies. And one may also ask whether it is not equally the historian's responsibility to appraise other, perhaps unintended, consequences of legislation.

Two major problems arise in the study: that of smuggling and evasion and that of statistics. To the former Mr. Harper devotes considerable space. He concludes, very convincingly, that the difficulties and expense of evasion

and the actual volume of legitimate trade in nearly every pertinent branch—he is not concerned with purely revenue laws or with the Molasses Act—are evidence that smuggling loomed far larger in the minds of enforcement officers than it did in actual practice. The statistical problem presents more difficulty. He has met the challenge of gaps in the records and untrustworthiness of materials with an ingenuity and a conservatism that inspire respect for his tables, even if it is not always easy to follow his reasoning in detail. The real statistical problem lies in interpreting the figures against the background of their times. Other factors than the Navigation Laws were at work in determining the amount and character of shipping, factors domestic and foreign, social, economic, and political, which can probably never be accurately appraised. Economic legislation, “social engineering”, is subject to far more diverse and incalculable strains and stresses than is the greatest suspension bridge ever constructed. Therein lies the difficulty of such “social engineering” and of its retrospective study. Mr. Harper is aware of this difficulty; whether he has made adequate allowance for the unknowns and variables in his analysis each reader will have to determine for himself. In essence he concludes that the laws had in fact a decidedly beneficial result; that English shipping grew faster than before the acts were passed; that in consequence of them shipping, instead of following, actually outstripped the growth of commerce; that it suffered under repeal until conditions changed with the coming of steam and steel construction. For the reader who would disagree the evidence is spread; he may form his own conclusions.

This is a good book and a useful book. For the enormous labor of investigation which went into its preparation and for the care and thoughtfulness with which it has been written historians will long be deeply indebted to its author.

*Yale University.*

LEONARD W. LABAREE.

*Frontenac and the Jesuits.* By JEAN DELANGLEZ, S. J., Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1939. Pp. vi, 296. \$3.20.)

This book is an especial plea to reconsider the reputation of the Count de Frontenac, governor of New France in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and his aspersions upon the Jesuit missionaries in his colony. That colony with its extension by discovery into the interior of the Great Lakes country was the scene of rivalries, factions, and jealousies which have been perpetuated to this day. As the author says: “Seventeenth century New France was a hotbed of hatred, of spite, of meanness, of jealousy, the like of which it would be difficult to match anywhere else during any given period. Statements found in documents hatched in such a milieu have been accepted uncritically, have been imposed on people as the truth.”

Father Delanglez has set himself the task of examining the documents

of the period critically and of discussing the strictures which historians have accepted concerning the work of the Jesuits. He thereupon indicts Parkman, Sulte, and even more modern authors of indiscriminating praise of Frontenac and of accepting his biased judgments as truths. He also adds to the previous indictment of Pierre Margry for partisanship and uncritical editing.

The author examines in detail the charges against the Jesuits: that they were opposed to the brandy trade, that they were unwilling to advance the governor's plan of Frenchifying their neophytes, and finally that the missionaries carried on fur trade for their own profit. Concerning the first of these accusations the evidence is all in favor of those who tried to keep liquor from the tribesmen, whose inability to resist drunkenness, and the awful ravages to which it led, are known to every student of Indian life. The second charge is more interesting in view of the Frenchification successfully carried out in the modern French colonies of North Africa and elsewhere. The failure to succeed in North America the author attributes not to opposition or lack of effort on the part of the missionaries but to the nature of the Indians themselves, which was so intractable that "a Frenchman became an Indian sooner than an Indian became French". The Indian history of the United States adds a commentary to this portion of the book. The refutation of the charge of trading for gain occupies more than one half of the book. Here the author has gone deeply into the documentary analysis and has, it seems to the reviewer, proved his point. His interpretation of the phrase *faire le traité* and his explanation of beaver skins as the common currency of New France are certainly correct.

In his indignation over the unfair charges made by the governor and his satellites and in his contempt for the character of Frontenac, Father Delanglez sometimes allows himself phrases and sentences that do not bear out his statement in the foreword that he has written objectively about the whole question. It would probably not be in human nature to do so; but it is unfortunate that the animosities of the seventeenth century should be perpetuated in the twentieth. Taken as a whole, however, the book is a careful, scholarly, historical treatise and exonerates the Jesuit order from much with which it was unjustly charged in New France.

*The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.* LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

*A Select Bibliography of British History, 1660-1760.* By CLYDE LECLARE GROSE, Professor of History, Northwestern University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. xxv, 507. \$9.00.)

EVIDENCE of the growing interest of recent years in a long-neglected period is given by this bibliography, which should in turn offer a stimulus to further research in the field. Davies's volume in the co-operative Anglo-American bibliographical project, to be sure, covers the first fifty-four of these one hundred years, but the long-awaited volume for the eighteenth

century is still unavailable, while Morgan's monumental work deals with only fifteen years. Furthermore there is definite advantage in regarding the era from 1660 to 1760 as a unit, cutting across the line dividing the centuries. With the turning point of 1660 new issues begin to submerge old, and a new spirit appears in which practical and materialistic considerations replace ideologies as the driving forces behind developments. The change is perhaps particularly obvious in the economic field (although here as everywhere else any age builds upon its predecessor), but it holds in other aspects of history. The age of Charles II would have understood that of Anne or of the early Georges as the time of Cromwell could not possibly have done.

With, then, a natural unit to work upon, Professor Grose has compiled a thoroughly self-consistent bibliography. It gains in this respect also because it is the work of an individual who sees the design with a single eye and has all the threads of the pattern in his own hands. As a result there is not only consistency but also admirable proportion in the various parts of the work. The ground covered is wide, including the colonies as well as the British Isles. General, constitutional, diplomatic, military, naval, economic, social, religious, and cultural history have each a place, and each is interpreted in a comprehensive sense. The confusion that might have resulted in the mind of the reader from such richness of subject matter is eliminated by the admirable arrangement and the aids to study. The table of contents is detailed yet so logically planned that the desired topic is discovered with a minimum of effort once the principle of the division of the work into three major parts has been grasped. In addition to the full table of contents there are many helpful cross references and guiding notes referring to other sections. The full index amounts to one fifth of the volume in spite of compact printing. The major divisions are split into many small sections, eliminating the necessity of searching through much that is not to one's purpose. Brief notes call attention to key works. Descriptions, criticisms, and comments are plentiful, although space is saved by omission where they would not add materially to the value of the bibliography. The selection of material, which includes major collections of manuscripts as well as printed works, has been made with admirable judgment and obviously with the needs of the user of the book constantly in mind. While many authorities with specialized knowledge have been consulted, the strong hand of a scholarly author is nevertheless clearly evident. The co-operation of the University of Chicago Press has helped in the creation of a volume of convenient size and attractive format. Apart from the limitations of its scope, the reviewer is aware of no other bibliography likely to be used with greater satisfaction by students of history.

*Wellesley College.*

JUDITH BLOW WILLIAMS.

*Lettres inédites de Bolingbroke à Lord Stair, 1716-1720.* Par PAUL BARATIER, professeur au Lycée du Parc à Lyon. (Trévoux: Imprimerie de Trévoux. 1939. Pp. 106.)

*Lord Bolingbroke: Ses écrits politiques.* Par PAUL BARATIER. [Annales de l'Université de Lyon.] (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres. 1939. Pp. 370.)

PROFESSOR Baratier has performed a real service by his careful, scholarly editing of these letters of Bolingbroke, which shed new light upon the earlier years of his exile. They suggest that Bolingbroke entered the Pretender's service only after the Whig leaders had ended all his hopes of an accommodation with George I. It was the decision of a desperate man, who soon deeply repented of his action. Before parting company with the Pretender, moreover, he offended him by some very plain speaking, to which the Court of St. Germain was little accustomed. These letters indicate that so far as Bolingbroke was concerned the break was absolute, and that he was even anxious, in return for the lifting of his attainder, to serve the Whig government by seeking to show the rank and file of the Tories the folly of supporting so footless a leader as the Pretender. As early as 1719 Bolingbroke felt that parliament would momentarily remove his attainder, but he waited four more weary years before being permitted to return to England, and even then he remained shorn of his political rights.

The title of Professor Baratier's longer work is a misnomer, for it is primarily neither a treatise upon nor a selection from Bolingbroke's political writings, although considerable attention is paid to them in the last third of the volume. Nor is it a biography, except in a limited sense, for it largely ignores his work as an administrator and diplomat while he held the post of leading secretary of state. A full-length biography is badly needed, as Thomas Macknight's *Life*, though nearly eighty years old, has not been superseded by Sir Charles Petrie's popular defense of the Tory leader.

An edition of Bolingbroke's correspondence would fill a longfelt want of historical scholars. Gilbert Parke's edition of his letters (1798) covers only four years of his long life, though they were by far the most significant in his career, and it has long been out of print, as has the slighter work by Grimoard (1808). Many of Bolingbroke's more important letters, moreover, are scattered through the correspondence of his outstanding political and intellectual contemporaries in Britain and France over a period of half a century.

The present work satisfies neither of these needs, though the author modestly makes no claim that it does. The latter part of the volume contains a clear restatement of the more important points of Bolingbroke's political philosophy as set forth in his later writings, such as *A Dissertation upon Political Parties* and the *Patriot King*. In places, too, this work does skillfully summarize information upon certain obscure points in Boling-

broke's career. The author feels that the secretary of state never made any definite move looking toward the restoration of the Stuarts but that he sought rather to strengthen his party so that it might continue in power whoever might succeed Queen Anne. Nowhere, perhaps, can be found a fairer and more sympathetic account of Bolingbroke's years of exile, when he was never quite in and never quite out of English politics.

The book, unfortunately, lacks balance, for Bolingbroke's years of exile receive more than twice the attention of his years as Queen Anne's minister. The text contains long quotations from letters and essays written originally in English but here carefully translated into French. Where the quotations occasionally are given in English, translations are found in the footnotes. In many places, indeed, the text consists largely of long translations from Parke's *Correspondence* of Bolingbroke, Swift's *Journal to Stella*, the *Marchmont Papers*, and various volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, all of which are accessible in the better libraries. The reviewer suggests that a French paraphrase in the text of the English materials would have been much better, supported in important instances by the original quotations in the footnotes.

The translations are painstakingly done, though many of the bon mots of Swift, Defoe, and Bolingbroke defy translation. The scholarship for the most part is admirable. The bibliography is both comprehensive and impressive, and the footnotes carry abundant evidence of extensive reading in the sources and secondary works. The author has, however, missed some unpublished manuscripts of Bolingbroke in the Bodleian Library and several books and monographs, such as W. T. Laprade's *Public Opinion and Politics in Eighteenth Century England* and G. B. Hertz's *British Imperialism in the Eighteenth Century*. Errors are few and unimportant, but the value of the work would have been greatly enhanced by a comprehensive index.

*Indiana University.*

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

*Competition for Empire, 1740-1763.* By WALTER L. DORN, Ohio State University. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1940. Pp. xii, 426. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Dorn had the hard task of writing a work that would differ from the usual factual account of the period, that would treat Europe as a unit, and that would run to not much more than four hundred pages. These requirements imposed upon him a difficult problem of selection and organization, which he solved in a rather unique fashion.

The author begins his volume with an analysis of "The Competitive State System". He finds the distinguishing characteristics of this system to be the coexistence of large, independent states, which disregarded the rights of small states, which were controlled by and existed for the benefit of a

nobility with military traditions, and which were stimulated to grow in size and strength by professional armies. Three of the remaining seven chapters describe institutions or conditions of the period, and four narrate movements of these years. The three descriptive chapters explain the administrative systems of France, Spain, the Habsburg monarchy, Prussia, Russia, and what the author somewhat inaccurately calls England, the military systems of France, Russia, and Great Britain, the navies of France and Great Britain, and the commercial empires of the same two powers. The narrative chapters tell the story of the Anglo-Spanish War, the War of the Austrian Succession, the intellectual movements of the period, the "Diplomatic Revolution", and the Seven Years' War. The section of a chapter on eighteenth century armies is devoted almost exclusively to a description of the methods employed in recruiting the officers and the rank and file of the three armies and the military tactics which these methods necessitated. The section on the navies of France and Great Britain contains much that will be new and informing to many readers. The chapter on the Age of Enlightenment shows not only an intimate acquaintance with the more common facts about the intellectual movements of the period but a masterly grasp of the fields of literature, philosophy, economics, political science, and religion. The description of the "Diplomatic Revolution" is certainly the best account of that complicated story in any language. The two chapters on the wars of the period, however, make no attempt to give the reader a pen picture of the military strategy but require him to bring to the narrative a considerable knowledge of the subject.

The work thus omits much that might be said about the period and has a number of limitations. The author, at times, seems to assume an almost patronizing air toward both his readers and his sources. He has also absorbed the historical literature in the German language so thoroughly that he has almost a Teutonic rather than an American point of view. He admires Prussia very much and is inclined to set up Prussian institutions as a standard by which to judge those of other states. He has, likewise, made no attempt to give the domestic history of the various European states. He does not even mention, for example, the Balkan peninsula or its peoples. He has depended, too, apparently, almost entirely on sources of information in the English, French, and German languages. He refers to Dutch sources about three times and to a few Spanish sources, one of the most important of the latter being marred by a typographical mistake, but he writes the story of the Anglo-Spanish War without any assistance from the Spaniards. He has not used the rather extensive literature in Italian on the period. He seems to have used only Russian works which have been translated into the languages of Western Europe. The bibliography is excellent, but the reviewer would have included the fine article on bibliography in the new Italian encyclopedia, the work of Sanchez, and the standard histories of Blok and Brugman.



Professor Dorn's book, however, is a great credit to American scholarship. It shows wide reading on the part of the author through many years, much study in archival materials, and an unusual grasp of the meaning of facts.

*University of Wisconsin.*

C. P. HIGBY.

*The Evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth.* By Sir JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT, Honorary Fellow (Formerly Fellow and Lecturer in Modern History) of Worcester College, Oxford. (London: Nicholson and Watson. 1939. Pp. xv, 388. 12s. 6d.)

THIS addition to the long list of Sir John Marriott's writings is the fulfillment of a "hope cherished for more than half a century", following an interest first aroused by reading Sir John Seeley's *Expansion of England*. That it is not the "fruit of recent or casual attachment" is further emphasized by an appendix listing the titles of review articles on imperial topics contributed by the author to magazines since 1900, an appendix that, otherwise, seems of little value.

Despite these claims, the reviewer lays aside the volume with the feeling that it is a hasty and biased compilation of selected "facts" in British imperial history. Actual errors in dates and events are few, but facts are constantly selected to justify a concept of imperialism that would have been more widely acceptable in 1897.

Let India serve as a sample, since it naturally occupies a large place in the volume. Clive's victory at Plassey is regarded as the just punishment of a "perjured Nawab"; the enormous rewards that followed naturally came out of "gratitude". Hastings is lauded for his "redemption of a continent". British imperialism in India during the early nineteenth century is largely ignored; there is no reference to the East India Company's connection with China nor any mention of the Opium War or of the work of Dalhousie. The Mutiny is dismissed in a sentence. Indian unrest in the present century arose, it seems, despite a British rule that was "wholly benevolent" (p. 321). Trouble during the World War is laid to "propaganda literature circulated by Indian revolutionary societies in the United States". Sir Michael O'Dwyer showed "courage and resource" in suppressing risings in the Punjab, and Marriott goes on to characterize the Amritsar "incident" as no "rose-water surgery", which may have cost "hundreds" of lives but saved "thousands". Nor is the author a friend of the well-meant Montagu-Chelmsford reforms: the reviewer was greatly surprised to learn that they were merely "efforts to disturb the contentment of the Indian peasantry" (p. 329).

South Africa is handled in the same way. Griqualand West (the diamond country) was "accepted". Kruger has all the blame for the Boer War, and Joseph Chamberlain is lauded to the skies for his "splendid vision" and for the "two stalwart sons who have sprung from his loins" and continued his work. Needless to say, there is no recognition of the decline of imperialism

between 1902 and 1914. A curious and significant usage in this part of the volume is the avoidance of "Liberal" as the name for the party of Gladstone and Asquith: it is uniformly called "Radical"! Marriott's dislike for the Liberals comes out, too, in the handling of the Imperial Conference of 1911, where Asquith has all the blame for the failure to accept an imperial constitution at that time.

Current imperial problems are not given much attention despite a final chapter on "Retrospect and Prospect". The great economic questions of central Africa are not faced. The matter of the Haves and the Have Nots is completely ignored. The evolution of southern Ireland since the war is avoided—on the ground that its position is "so ambiguous that it would serve no useful purpose to attempt to define it". Though the author is in doubt as to whether the Irish Free State is a Dominion, he is sure that the administration of Northern Ireland is "indistinguishable from that of a Dominion".

Sir John Marriott has written an irritating volume which avoids rather than faces issues of great concern, issues which are being considered courageously and constructively by such writers as Arnold Toynbee, W. K. Hancock, Lord Hailey, Sir Frederick Lugard, and their co-workers in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, to mention only a few of his own compatriots.

*Oberlin College.*

HOWARD ROBINSON.

*The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence.* Edited by W. S. LEWIS. Volumes III-VIII, edited by W. S. LEWIS and WARREN HUNTING SMITH, Walpole's Correspondence with Madame du Deffand, Wiart, and Mademoiselle Sanadon. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. lxxxviii, 407; 497; 439; 502; 461; ix, 561. \$45.00.)

AGAIN, as in the case of the Cole letters (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 851), Mr. Lewis arouses admiration for the artistic and scholarly workmanship displayed in the Yale edition of Horace Walpole's correspondence. This time Mr. Warren Hunting Smith shares the editorial honors.

Walpole met Madame du Deffand on his visit to Paris in 1765. A correspondence, begun on his return to London and interrupted only by later visits, continued during a friendship of more than fourteen years, that is, until the death of Madame du Deffand in 1780. The destruction of most of Walpole's letters to Madame du Deffand has necessarily marred the general plan of presenting as a unit Walpole's correspondence with each of his friends. Nevertheless, by printing all available letters and scraps of letters and indicating the dates of those missing, so far as dates are known, the editors have preserved the impression of unity and continuity. They have succeeded in giving us several letters and parts of letters previously unprinted and, in addition to the main body of correspondence, important

items such as the hitherto unpublished Paris Journals of Walpole, a journal kept by Madame du Deffand during the last months of her life, poems, literary "portraits" of Madame du Deffand, of Walpole, and of other members of their circle of friends, as well as a few additional letters exchanged by Madame du Deffand with other correspondents. All this material illuminates the correspondence in a way that mere notes could not do. The illustrations, furthermore, are well chosen and add greatly to the charm of the volumes. In spite of the loss of Walpole's own letters, therefore, the collection gives a remarkably realistic impression of the two correspondents and their common interests.

The correspondence presents many delightful contrasts: between Madame du Deffand and Walpole, French and English character, and French and English custom. The subjects of chief concern to Madame du Deffand were first herself and then Walpole, and it is not strange that these subjects become of primary interest to the reader. In addition to making us acquainted with the two chief characters, the letters of Madame du Deffand introduce us to the intellectual life of Paris at the end of the old regime, then, as for generations before and since, the cultural center of Europe. Nearly seventy when the correspondence began, and blind for many years, Madame du Deffand still gathered about her armchair the notable men and women of the world: members of the French court (of which she was a pensioner), foreign diplomats, travelers, the most renowned wits, and the most learned philosophers of the age, charmed by her humor and flattered by her hospitality. At eighty Madame du Deffand was said to be as "lively as eighteen" (IV, 337, n. 3). Professing boredom she, nevertheless, evinced interest in everything and everybody. Her observations were more penetrating than those of most people who enjoy all their senses. She wrote to amuse herself as well as to entertain and inform her friend at Strawberry Hill, and in spite of many repetitions as to her own state of health and mind she has succeeded in amusing and informing a twentieth century reader. To a surprising degree this correspondence, so slight as regards the extant remainder of Walpole's share, adds to our understanding of what Paris meant to all those for whom Paris was an intellectual mecca and whose thinking reflected the thoughts of Paris. The classification of Walpole's correspondence, so wisely adopted by the editors, has made the study of the Parisian influence on Walpole and his English contemporaries, as revealed in this source, comparatively simple.

In addition to a well-chosen plan and an admirably complete and accurate text, these volumes illustrate other desirable features of a work for scholars. The index, itself a colossal work of three hundred and forty-two pages, is of that encyclopaedic variety which is the admiration of the professional indexer and the despair of the amateur. By reference to the index he who likes his food in capsules may obtain the facts in these letters without

bothering to read the actual correspondence. The footnotes are, on the whole, as complete as patience and scholarship could make them. Indeed, for the reader who starts at the beginning and proceeds letter by letter to the end of the last volume, the repetitive character of the annotations may prove annoying. He should remind himself, in that case, that the searcher after isolated facts will rejoice in the thoroughness of the notes as well as the completeness of the index.

Unfortunately, a few evidences suggest that these volumes may have gone to the press in undue haste. There is, for instance, some possible confusion due to lack of uniformity in identifying individuals in the notes. Several explanations of the identity of Horatio Walpole, uncle of the correspondent, vary so greatly that one might easily be led into thinking that the notes concerned different individuals of the same name (II, 114, 119, 133, 136). Again, the reader may wonder at the inclusion of references for familiar quotations from the Bible (I, 332) and the omission of identification for such a name as that of Madame de la Fayette (II, 144), who, as it appears from the index, was not the marquise. Another evidence of possible haste is the peculiar system of numbering footnotes, which uses letters as well as numerals. The most facile explanation of this peculiarity is that the lettered footnotes were inserted after the manuscript had gone to press. These shortcomings are indeed minor in comparison with the remarkable accuracy and excellence of these volumes, but they are noticeable in a work that falls so little short of perfection. As an illustration of this prevailing characteristic one should not fail to note the high literary quality of the introductory essays.

Wilson College.

DORA MAE CLARK.

*The Wellsprings of Liberty (Aux sources de la liberté).* By ÉDOUARD HERRIOT, Former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of France. Translation by Richard Duffy. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 279. \$2.50.)

THE tradition of the scholarly statesman is an ancient and honorable one which Mr. Herriot has long since made his own, with notable contributions to the history of French letters and even of German music. In the present work he attempts something a little different, namely, the popularization of history. His theme is the meaning of the French Revolution to the democracies of Europe and America, and his occasion is the 150th anniversary of the great event. The result of his endeavor, I regret to say, is disappointing. Though he does not pretend to add anything new to the subject, Mr. Herriot has obviously read enough to make his treatment valuable, but he has miscalculated his audience. At one moment he writes as if for children, and at another he makes allusions which the well-educated might easily be forgiven for not catching. The translator, it is true, has compiled a summary

of the Revolution and printed it as an appendix, but it comes too late, is too dry, and does not repair the uneven impression made by the text.

Each of the two "authors" of this work is moreover guilty of one other grave fault. Mr. Herriot, with an eye on the present international situation, limits his view of the "sources" of liberty to eighteenth century England and America. This makes him scratch around for much too slight instances of "influence". The fact that Camille Desmoulins went to prison with a copy of Young's *Night Thoughts* in his pocket does not support the claim of unusual love of liberty common to England and France. Again, though Mr. Herriot admits that many of the achievements of the Revolution were forecast by important beginnings under the old regime, he fails to mention Guibert in connection with the citizen army, and he never really proves that the important scientific and mathematical work done in France in the last decade of the eighteenth century was stimulated instead of hindered by civil and foreign war. Indeed, many of his examples suggest interruption and interference rather than the reverse. A franker balancing of pros and cons would not lessen the value of the Revolution and would lessen the often justified irritation of its opponents.

As for the translator, he has erred too often and too badly to plead accident. The entire book reads like foreigners' English, alternately pompous and silly, and in addition the text is studded with blunders ranging all the way from nonsense to grave misapprehension. Here is a sample of the nonsense: "it [the division of labor] would conduce to the formation of a proletariat unknown, or at least subject to the regime of the artisanat" (p. 174). The misapprehensions occur on every other page. How often will reviewers have to repeat that identical roots in English and French mean different things? *Respecter* does not mean respect, *revivre* does not mean revive, *étonnant* does not mean astonishing, and the meaning of the context should give the fact away: how can Mr. Herriot be supposed to have written that he *revived* the Estates-General in May of last year? There is a book, aptly called *Les faux amis*, which lists these misleading word kinships and which no translator should be without. But Mr. Duffy does not even seem to possess a common Cassell dictionary since he repeatedly writes the incomprehensible *azote* for nitrogen, *vaccinia* (which is a disease and not a cure) for vaccination, and *hydroclorique acid* for the -ic form which even a grammar school child would hit upon by himself. Needless to add, the book is without an index.

Columbia University.

JACQUES BARZUN.

*Income Tax in the Napoleonic Wars*. By ARTHUR HOPE-JONES, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History, General Editor, J. H. Clapham.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York; Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. x, 145. \$2.25.)

THIS little book is the first product of an important discovery of docu-

ments. The first British income tax (1799) was abolished when peace came in 1802. The second income tax (1803) was repealed in 1816. The taxpayers not merely insisted on the abolition of this "odious", "scandalous", "hated", and "inquisitorial" impost but decreed that the records be destroyed—by being converted into pulp at a paper factory in 1802 and by being burned in the Old Palace Yard at Westminster in 1816. This destruction of original returns apparently took place; but, following a precedent well established before 1799, duplicates of all returns from each parish and each county had been deposited with the king's remembrancer in the court of exchequer, and these papers escaped attention. They have now been found, carefully preserved in sacks and bundles, in the Public Record Office.

In them "there is available an invaluable commentary on the economic life of England during the war years"; they are "a new mine of material for general economic and local history". But the extraction and refining of all this mountain of ore would keep Mr. Hope-Jones and a score of assistants busy for a decade. It was therefore decided to announce the discovery in a brief study, to show by examination of nine sample areas the kind of information available, and thus induce other scholars to come and dig. But Mr. Hope-Jones's essay is more than a progress report, for at some points he has done a finished job. He has told the story of the tax; he has shown that it was "an honest and courageous attempt to finance extraordinary expenditure, and to a surprising extent it was successful"; and he has found that this success was due to the skillful organization of an efficient administrative machinery built and handled by very competent civil servants. The economic historian will want to know much more than this book tells him; but the student of political and administrative history will find here a complete and new chapter in the history of British administration. "It is in the War Income Tax that many of the features of modern administration and executive practice were first anticipated and to a great extent developed. . . . For the first time in England the servant of the Crown, not in the person of the county magistrate, but as the paid official of a centralized administrative department, was coming into the everyday life and activity of a majority of the people."

*The University of Minnesota.*

HERBERT HEATON.

*Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806-1815.* By EUGENE NEWTON ANDERSON, Professor of European History, The American University. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1939. Pp. ix, 303. \$2.50.)

It is a pleasure to begin this review with a word of hearty commendation of the work of a younger American scholar who has gleaned successfully in a field already well worked by European, chiefly German, scholars. The volume is a group of seven semibiographical personality studies of various German, more especially Prussian, thinkers, writers, rulers, and

men of action, with special reference to the degree of their conversion under the impact of the ideological and political aggression of the French Revolution and Napoleon from eighteenth century rationalism and cosmopolitanism to nationalism, either philosophic, historic, or romantic. In some cases the results of the studies are negative, and the order of the essays is on the descending scale of the response of the subjects to the era which saw "the birth and institutionalism of nationalism". Here is the list: Fichte, the philosopher; Arndt, folklorist, historian, and pamphleteer; Kleist, poet and dramatist; Gneisenau, general and military reformer; Nathusius, businessman and forerunner of bourgeois capitalism; Marwitz, typical Prussian junker of any age from the Great Elector to William II; and Frederick William III, the Prussian king from 1797 to 1840, who knew so little of the forces transforming his world that he would not have understood the essays on the other six men. Though all of the studies are interesting and suggestive to any student of the period or of nationalism or of present-day Germany, they seem to one reader, at least, to fall into the above order in the matter of their substance and originality of interpretation.

Although the volume has been spoken of as a series of essays and the author calls it a by-product of his year on a fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council, neither characterization does full justice to the scholarly purpose of the book. There is nothing casual about the volume. It is the product of an inquiring mind seeking the origins of nationalism as one of the most pervading and dominant cultural and political movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. How did its first expositors make the transition from either a narrow provincialism or a vague cosmopolitanism to nationalism? What are their characteristics and the subjective factors in their transitions? How and why did they project their own states of mind and baffled ambitions and personal interests, whether intellectual or economic or class conscious, into a critique of the existing order and into plans for an ideal and institutionalized nationalism? What was their answer to the question that arises in every age of transition, that of the relation of the individual to the society that was or that he hopes may be born? The questions thus posed carry the author in approach and method far into the psychology of release if not of psychoanalysis. One could almost supplement these questions by asking why in such ages of weakness and national confusion the Germans seem so like the Jews, whom they persecute and envy.

In a vigorous and thought-provoking opening essay the author defines and characterizes nationalism when reason, in an age of fear and uncertainty, gives way to an emotionalism that elevates nationalism into a mystic religion. He sets up a twofold classification of nationalists—character nationalists (Fichte) and situation nationalists (Gneisenau). The line is not and cannot be drawn hard and fast between them, as is exemplified by Kleist. The historian of nationalism throughout the last one hundred



and fifty years would want to check this generalized classification, which fits the chosen individuals and the period 1806-15 in Prussia, against other periods and the exponents of nationalism in them. When one finds himself readily assenting to the whole discussion and to the list of the typical features of nationalism, he should ask whether he and the author would be in such perfect agreement if they were not living in the age of Hitler and Nazi Germany.

The volume is meaty and worthy of the close reading it requires in certain parts. Historians and political theorists will profit from it. The author has read widely and in certain points has checked his material with unpublished manuscripts. He is, himself, probably now wondering how he made the slip of twice calling Frederick William III the grandson of Frederick the Great.

*The University of Minnesota.*

GUY STANTON FORD.

*Guglielmo Pepe*. A cura di RUGGERO MOSCATI. Volume I, 1797-1831. (Rome: Regio Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano. 1938. Pp. cvii, 367. 30 l.)

*Lettere di Luciano Manara a Fanny Bonacina Spini (7 Aprile 1848—26 Giugno 1849)*. Con Introduzione e Note di FRANCESCO ERCOLE. (*Ibid.* 1939. Pp. 299. 25 l.)

*Epistolario di Nino Bixio*. A cura di EMILIA MORELLI. Volume I, 1847-1860. (*Ibid.* Pp. xx, 442. 45 l.)

THESE volumes bring together in printed form a considerable number of letters and documents bearing on the lives of three heroes of the Italian Risorgimento. They are works of careful editing but essentially in the spirit of patriotic hagiography.

Moscati's first volume on Guglielmo Pepe offers 356 letters and papers only a few of which have hitherto been published. These document the life of Pepe through the Neapolitan revolution of 1799, the regimes of King Joseph and King Joachim, the restoration, the revolution of 1820, and the subsequent exile. The editor has demonstrated extraordinary zeal in collecting these materials, which were drawn from thirty-seven public and private archives and libraries in Italy and from five foreign institutions. The collection admirably fulfills the author's purpose "to confirm, rectify, and control the account of his life which Pepe gives in his *Memoirs*". The volume is furnished with an extensive introduction which includes an exhaustive critical survey of the historical literature on Pepe and an account of his life until 1831. Perhaps the best part of this is the fine delineation of the role which Pepe played in the Neapolitan revolution of 1820-21.

Luciano Manara's brief career represents the finest spirit of Lombard patriotic sacrifice in 1848 and 1849. Manara took a leading part in the Five Days of Milan, then served as a Lombard volunteer under Charles Albert

until his abdication. After the bitter disappointment of the dissolution of the Lombard Corps, which followed the battle of Novara, Manara made his way to Rome, where he was killed defending the Roman Republic against the French expedition under General Oudinot. To Fanny Bonacina Spini, wife of Count Giulio Spini, the ardent young Manara sent a great number of letters so that the collection constitutes almost a diary. After Manara's tragic death the romantic and patriotic lady transcribed the letters in a manuscript volume, and it is from this transcription, later acquired by the *Museo del Risorgimento* of Milan, that the publication has been made. These letters shed some new light on the brief career of Manara, already rather well documented. Furthermore they constitute an excellent source of contemporary opinion regarding the leaders of 1848 and 1849. Manara was devoted and loyal to Charles Albert, but he had only bitterness and contempt for Victor Emmanuel, who accepted the humiliating armistice with Radetzky. In the letter of April 1, 1849, Charles Albert is described as "a martyr to his own errors and a victim of the reactionaries and of his own son". The future liberator of Italy was definitely not recognized as such when he ascended the throne of Piedmont. The collecting and editing of the letters of Nino Bixio, Garibaldi's great lieutenant, was a task originally entrusted by the *Società nazionale per la storia del Risorgimento italiano* to Ersilio Michel and Nino Oxilia. After considerable work on their part this first volume has been completed by Emilia Morelli. Of the 247 letters printed, some 131 are published for the first time. The volume thus constitutes a comparatively complete record of Bixio's life in its first two phases, as a Mazzinian and as a Garibaldian.

*University of California.*

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH.

*Walter Bagehot.* By WILLIAM IRVINE. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. 303. \$4.50.)

WALTER Bagehot is one of the few remembered Victorians to whom no literary monument has been erected in the form of a multivolume biography. The short life, however, which the late Mrs. Russell Barrington prepared for her careful collection of Bagehot's works contains everything necessary to the understanding of his comparatively brief and uneventful career. Professor Irvine has not attempted a biographical monument where none was needed but has produced a keen criticism of Bagehot's numerous and varied writings. A student of Irving Babbitt, he exposes Bagehot's critical theories and literary methods to a dispassionate humanistic analysis which is worthy of his master in its quiet logic and apt form. The historian will regret that the author's literary interests have led him to devote the major portion of the volume to the literary essays rather than the more important political works. Yet the former help to explain the latter, for the numerous writings of Bagehot were diffused only in subject matter and were singularly

coherent in their point of view. Unlike most of his contemporaries, he never confused moral with material progress or supposed that art or social relations were subject to universal law. His critical gifts were illuminated by an aloof intelligence rather than by poetic insight or robust humanity. As a result, his literary essays suffered, but the political and economic works gained in importance.

Bagehot believed in the opacity of the average man. Political and business affairs were dull and hence best managed by industrious and unimaginative men. Moral unity and law were properly justified by tradition and custom rather than by theories unintelligible to the ordinary citizen. Bagehot himself could penetrate the façade of usage. In the *English Constitution* he revealed in a clear, informal, and whimsically vivid style the significant forces behind the outward forms of government as they existed before the extension of the suffrage in 1867. Professor Irvine's critique stops at this point and leaves the postscript to the student of politics. Ironically, it was the fate of Walter Bagehot to be read and even understood by average men, who for two generations saw the workings of the English constitution through Bagehot's mid-Victorian glass and failed to perceive the significance of the new party machines and the permanent bureaucracy.

Mills College.

F. H. HERRICK.

*Die auswärtige Politik Preussens, 1858-1871.* Band II<sup>1</sup>, Januar bis Dezember, 1860. Bearbeitet von Dr. CHRISTIAN FRIESE. Band VI, April, 1865, bis März, 1866. Bearbeitet von Dr. RUDOLF IBBEKEN. [Diplomatische Aktenstücke, herausgegeben vom Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands, unter Leitung von Arnold Oskar Meyer.] (Oldenburg i. O.: Gerhard Stalling. 1938; 1939. Pp. xlviii, 741; 808. 42 M. and 43 M.)

THESE two volumes are the first of the series to appear under the auspices of the *Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands* and under the direction of Professor Arnold Oskar Meyer. The editors of the individual volumes are completing the task which they began for the *Historische Reichskommission*, under changed leadership and with modified editorial principles but with the same high standards of scholarship. The new principles, announced by Professor Meyer in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CLIII, 325) and referred to in reviews of earlier volumes of this series (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 126, and XLIII, 128) are explained in detail in the director's foreword to the first of the volumes here reviewed. The most important is that documents correctly published in generally accessible source collections shall not be reprinted. Instead, there is given an indication of their character, date of dispatch and receipt, a brief statement of the subjects covered, and a reference to the place or places of publication.

The effect of this policy on the two volumes before us has not been even.

In books of approximately the same length and covering the same number of months, Dr. Friese has included 290 main numbered items, Dr. Ibbeken, 678. On the other hand it should be noted that the former has used in footnotes over a thousand additional documents, the latter less than half as many.

Dr. Friese's volume covers the year 1860. The outstanding problems are the nonexecution of the Treaty of Zurich, the union of the central Italian states with Piedmont in exchange for the cession of Savoy and Nice to France, the expedition of Garibaldi to Sicily, and the invasion of the Papal States and Naples from the north. In general, the policy of Prussia was to stress principles: in the case of the Treaty of Zurich and the central Italian states, the sanctity of treaties and the legitimacy of the rights of the dispossessed princes; in that of Savoy and Nice, respect for the treaty system of 1815 was strengthened by the fear that if the doctrine of "natural limits" were admitted, it would be used later to justify a demand by France for the Rhine frontier. Suspicion of Napoleon III was strong, but it was not possible for the other powers to agree on a policy against him. Prussia and Austria exchanged long and interesting memoranda on the defense of the German Confederation in an eventual war with France, but the exchanges brought out their differences rather than an approach to understanding. The reports of the Prussian minister at Turin include some conversations with Cavour and help to fill out the picture of that statesman, whose sense of reality and boldness in action were in marked contrast to the uncertainty and timidity of the Prussian government. Cavour's smiling suggestion that after he finished with Italy, he would be glad to offer his services to Prussia and use his best efforts to unify Germany, was not relished in Berlin (p. 457, n. 1). The documents on the period before September, 1862, are especially valuable for the light they throw on the policies of Prussia and on the Prussian statesmen of that period as a measure for the policies and stature of Bismarck.

Dr. Ibbeken's volume runs from April, 1865, through March, 1866, including as major topics the increasing tension between Austria and Prussia over the administration of Schleswig-Holstein, the compromise at Gastein, Biarritz, the earlier stages of the Prussian-Italian alliance, and the transfer of the Austro-Prussian conflict from the narrower question of Schleswig-Holstein to the wider one of the reorganization and domination of Germany. The details of the period are fairly well known from many source publications and monographs. Many of the documents printed here for the first time have been used before. Many others, especially those from the Russian archives, are new and enlightening. Especially valuable are notes on the changes during the drafting of many of Bismarck's papers. As the editor justly remarks, the key to the question whether we are dealing with a tactical maneuver or the real kernel of Bismarck's policy is to be found less in the finished document than in the nuances of the preliminary drafts.

*The University of Minnesota.*

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

*Germany and the Great Powers, 1866-1914: A Study in Public Opinion and Foreign Policy.* By E. MALCOLM CARROLL, Professor of History at Duke University. [Prentice-Hall History Series, Carl Wittke, Editor.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1938. Pp. xv, 852. \$5.00).

THIS volume is not devoted to an account of the origin or even an explanation of the different events of European diplomatic history in the period under consideration. Thus the actual conclusion of the Austro-German alliance is dealt with in a paragraph, Italy's accession to the alliance in a few lines, the Zabern affair is mentioned but not explained, and the origin of the Second Balkan War is somewhat inaccurately dealt with in one sentence, to single out only a few examples. In a volume for specialists it is of course permissible to assume a rather detailed knowledge of events on the part of the reader, and yet, had somewhat more attention been given to the events themselves, the thousands of comments from the German press which are listed would no doubt present a clearer picture. One could wish that the author had inserted more such admirable summaries as those on pages 337-46 dealing with Bismarck and Caprivi, pages 475-84 on the period 1895-1903, and pages 813-18 on July, 1914, which are practically the only conclusions in the whole eight hundred pages.

Professor Carroll has brought together a vast mass of information for which every researcher in the period will be grateful. He makes no pretense of having consulted to any extent "learned periodicals", but what he has omitted here he has more than made up for by quoting from monographs, memoirs, documents, and German newspapers. The English and French presses have also been consulted but to a much less degree. As to Germany, one must agree with the author that his "researches show, beyond any doubt, that the official control of the press and of public opinion, although greater than in France and England, was far less complete and that there was more real independence of opinion than is generally believed". But that is far from saying that this opinion was ever a controlling force in German foreign policy. More critical of Bismarck than many historians, Professor Carroll brings out Bismarck's technique of having the press provide a scare to help carry an election or an army bill. Caprivi, who is represented as pursuing a policy of general conciliation, appears in an unusually favorable light. It is to be regretted that Professor Carroll did not include a list of newspapers quoted with their prevailing opinions—rightist, leftist, industrialist, liberal, government organ, etc. As it is, this information is in part tucked away in the first chapter where it is not very serviceable to the person who wishes to consult but not to read the volume. There is a good index but no bibliography.

*Bowdoin College.*

E. C. HELMREICH.

*La triplice alleanza: Storia diplomatica, 1877-1912.* By LUIGI SALVATORELLI. (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale. 1939. Pp. 478. 30 l.)

ITALY'S participation in the Triple Alliance was due to her desire to escape isolation. Properly described as the greatest of the minor powers or the smallest of the great powers, her stake in the preservation of the balance of power caused her to react with unusual sensitivity to the fluctuations of this balance. As a result, her diplomacy, the consideration of which has received comparatively little attention in most discussions of the diplomatic history of Europe between 1870 and 1914, makes an ideal object for the study of the anatomy of alliances.

The present treatment is strictly confined to diplomacy, the maze of which is conscientiously unraveled to its innermost details from the conclusion of the initial treaty to the fifth and last renewal in 1912. The influence of the French seizure of Tunis is soundly analyzed and assigned its proper importance, as well as the role played by Bismarck, who must perforce be given the center of the stage in any study of the diplomacy of this period; but Salvatorelli refuses to be awed by the successes of Bismarckian policy, which he charges with "radical ambiguity" (p. 87).

With the passing of time and the consolidation of the state, Italy turned her eyes increasingly beyond her confines and gradually sought to increase her price for the continuance of the alliance. Toward France the alliance was essentially defensive in Italian eyes, and once Crispi had fallen and the foundations had been laid for the composition of the Franco-British differences, it began to appear more advantageous for Italy to come to terms with the dominant Mediterranean powers. A *rapprochement* with France could be reconciled with the alliance only in the event of a corresponding *rapprochement* between that country and Germany. Otherwise it was bound to void the alliance of its essential content; it is certainly a euphemism to speak of the new situation as "dynamic equilibrium" (p. 263), and instances abound of the uncomfortable squirmings of Italian statesmen endeavoring to reconcile the two tendencies. It would be a mistake, however, and one which Salvatorelli properly avoids, to judge the evolution of the alliance with the wisdom of hindsight.

The book is consistently dispassionate and thorough. Its very thoroughness makes one wish that the author had broadened his picture by showing the relation of diplomacy to other currents. Not enough is made perhaps of Crispi's colonial adventures, the long tariff war with France during the nineties, and the influence of financial, economic, and political developments within Italy. Nor are the Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans and the influence of the German *Drang nach Südosten* sufficiently emphasized. On the other hand, Italian opposition to too great a success of South Slav nationalism, a forerunner of the clash of 1919, is properly brought out.

Inevitably, Salvatorelli's treatment suffers from the unavailability of the Italian documents. But save on relatively minor points, it is improbable that they would provide grounds for material revisions, and this study is not likely to be superseded for some considerable time to come.

New York City.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ.

*Vorkriegsimperialismus: Die soziologischen Grundlagen der Aussenpolitik europäischer Grossmächte bis 1914.* Von WOLFGANG HALLGARTEN. (Paris: Éditions Météore, Études sociologiques. 1935. Pp. 364. 30 fr.)

THIS volume is an abstract of a much larger unpublished work by the author, which runs to no less than 1731 typewritten pages and of which copies have been acquired by the libraries of Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Stanford, University of California, and, in microfilm, by the New York Public Library. The reviewer has read the original manuscript from beginning to end with much interest and profit, and in what few remarks he can make within space limits he refers to the longer version on which, no doubt, the author would wish to be judged.

Hallgarten's work is dedicated to Eckart Kehr, whose *Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik, 1894-1901* (Berlin, 1930) was unquestionably an event in modern historiography and whose premature death may be described without exaggeration as a major loss to the historical profession. Those acquainted with Kehr's monograph will recall that it far transcends the subject matter indicated by the title and really constitutes an analysis of German society at the close of the last century, with reference to the repercussions of sociological factors upon political alignments and activities. What Hallgarten has undertaken to do is to apply the same approach and method to the whole problem of German foreign policy from 1890 to 1914, devoting the first third of his study to an economic interpretation of modern English, French, and German history and taking some account of the social structure and social forces of the great powers of Europe with which Germany came into contact and competition. Throughout, the writer reveals an intimate acquaintance with diplomatic history of the more orthodox type and indeed an extraordinary erudition derived from wide study of German newspapers and some research in the archives of the German ministry of marine (the colonial office archives were closed to him, as to other scholars). He is entitled to unstinting praise for having brought together an immense amount of valuable information (much of it obscure and difficult of access) and for having synthesized it in convincing fashion. The work is perhaps unnecessarily long-winded, the footnotes too numerous and distracting, and the style less stimulating than that of Kehr, but these are minor considerations and should not obscure the fact that Hallgarten's work is a contribution to recent German history of absolutely first-rate importance which no student of either domestic or international history can afford to ignore.



No doubt the sociological approach has, in recent years, done much to enrich our understanding, and anyone who reads Hallgarten's book must come away with a profound feeling of uneasiness about the structure and working of modern industrial society, in which great interests—financial, commercial, industrial, agrarian—wrestle with each other not only for gain but for control of the whole state apparatus. Under the circumstances the instability of German policy and the general confusion of aims become more comprehensible if less edifying. On the other hand, even the sympathetic critic may find it hard to escape the feeling of one-sidedness in this approach. Again and again Hallgarten explains that he does not underestimate other historical factors but that in this study he is interested merely in setting forth the sociological aspects. Naturally he has a right to do what he chooses. Yet one wonders whether even the purely sociological factor does not raise implications which the author either ignores or glosses over. The impression conveyed by the book is that men are actuated almost exclusively by motives of gain. Great bankers and industrialists not only reach over national frontiers in far-flung connections but use their political position or influence to exploit their own government for the most sordid purposes. But surely there must have been something more in the German naval program than the desire of powerful interests to secure shipbuilding orders, and the same might be said of other fundamental policies. Hallgarten has a good word to say for the Pan-German ideology, and his sympathies are clearly with the socialist critics of the existing regime. But, relatively speaking, he makes little reference to any but economic motives and leaves one with the feeling that any social system as immoral and corrupt as the one he pictures deserves destruction. However, this may be a personal reaction, and I would not want it to suggest that Hallgarten's work is anything less than an original and scholarly contribution of the highest value.

Harvard University.

WILLIAM L. LANGER.

*Briand: Sa vie, son œuvre, avec son journal et de nombreux documents inédits.* Par GEORGES SUAREZ. Volume I, *Le révolté circonspect, 1862-1904*; Volume II, *Le faiseur de calme, 1904-1914*. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1938. Pp. xi, 468; iii, 515. 40 fr. each.)

IF we omit Jaurès, three men dominate the political scene in France during the first three decades of the present century—Clemenceau, Poincaré, and Briand. And yet until the publication of the present volumes by Suarez no adequate, full-length biography of any of them had appeared.

Suarez's biography is the serious work of a journalist who had known Briand and observed at first hand the later phases of his career. It is based on the papers of Briand himself, and this will differentiate it from earlier and much slighter lives. The diaries, correspondence, and confidential docu-

ments concerning his ministries were piously preserved by his nephew and have been systematically used by the author, he tells us. Copious quotation from them makes the book a historical source of first-rate importance for investigators in the field. That this newly won material has been extensively supplemented by researches in the existing printed sources is obvious both from text and bibliography. The result is a wide view of the man and the problems he faced; this biography falls definitely into the "life and times" category.

Briand has been chided by historians, as he was attacked by contemporaries, for the inconsistency of his career. To Suarez, however, Briand's life is one of fundamental consistency, and the key to its understanding is to be found in the temper of his intellect. He was a realist, a man profoundly tolerant, one who recognized that solutions of great social problems to be lasting must have their roots in compromise. Within the terms of this thesis the author attempts to harmonize Briand, proponent of the general strike, socialist, peacemaker with the church, strikebreaking premier, pacifier of Franco-German antagonism, and architect of the three-year-service law.

This "révolté circonspect" defended the general strike for years, but it was because he believed that the general strike would create a new social order without that violent revolution of the Marxists which was, says Suarez, so repugnant to him. At the turn of the century he preached unity among the socialist factions and urged compromise of more extreme and doctrinaire positions. He supported Millerand and defended the usefulness of socialist co-operation in bourgeois cabinets. As reporter for the chamber's committee, Briand brought in the 1905 bill which separated church and state. With the spectacular challenge of the kaiser from Tangier in 1905, Briand recognized that national unity was the crucial issue, that the embittered struggle of Catholics and anticlericals, debris of the Dreyfus Affair, must be closed by an act which should do justice both to Catholics and the state. Long pourparlers with liberal Catholic prelates and lay leaders put this socialist in possession of the elements of a compromise for which he was later to be roundly denounced both by Catholic extremists and by many of his own anticlerical socialist colleagues. Even the suppression of the general strike of 1910 demonstrates the consistency of his career: just as Briand had earlier invented "pacific revolution" (the general strike), so now he evolved its peaceful counterpart, suppression "without violence or victims"!

We have said enough to reveal that the author's thesis proves too much. There were times in Briand's early career when this "rebel" used language which was far from "circumspect", when he used language of a very revolutionary character (e.g., I, 282-83). As a man of open mind Briand's ideas were bound to change, and that they did evolve he admits himself (II, 185). It will do more justice to the facts to concede that Briand, the youthful free lance of the nineties, welcomed the general strike as an instrument for

the creation of the new society in an age when men's minds were riveted on the social problem, whereas Briand, the responsible statesman, facing the rapidly rising perils of the international scene in the prewar decade, recognized that French unity was his country's greatest need.

On the debit side of the ledger it must also be said that the book is too long. Briand did not play a role in the history of his country comparable to that of Palmerston or Gladstone in England. Five or six volumes (the probable final length of the biography) are excessive, and the book dissipates its strength in discursiveness. With too many descriptions of "paysages", too many and too lengthy portraits of other (and sometimes secondary) actors, the book comes to have a somewhat invertebrate character. Its cavalier annotation will irritate historians: the author rarely confides in us where he found his facts, and when he does it is to refer us casually to a work with no indication of volume or page. His antisocialist prejudices are, happily, disarmingly apparent, but they make it impossible for him to deal objectively with the milieu in which so much of Briand's earlier career was played out. In the absence of annotation one has the feeling that a good deal of Suarez's writing is impressionistic: whence, for example, come all the descriptive details of Briand's first love affair (*e.g.*, I, 76)? Finally there are (doubtless inevitable in a book of this scope) various misstatements of fact.

*Harvard University.*

DONALD C. MCKAY.

*The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.* By ROGERS PLATT CHURCHILL.  
(Cedar Rapids: Torch Press. 1939. Pp. 365. \$4.00.)

THE backgrounds of the first World War have been so thoroughly fought over that second generation scholars, trained in diplomatic exegesis but denied new source materials, have the thankless task of mopping up behind established positions. Nevertheless, recent scholarship in this field has been able to indulge the luxury of examining for their own sake diplomatic events which were formerly considered but elements of larger causation and were frequently characterized without due regard for their intrinsic qualities.

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 has been frequently examined as "ein weltgeschichtlicher Markstein", as Otto Hoetzsch termed it on the eve of the World War, but scholars have dealt summarily with its negotiation and its terms. In the present study of the convention Dr. Churchill is not interested in the origins of the war but puts his emphasis on the genesis and nature of the document Nicolson and Izvolsky signed on August 31, 1907.

Dr. Churchill bases his investigation primarily on published diplomacy, and his book is a creditable masterpiece, in the medieval sense, in the field of diplomatic history, which exhibits competence and restraint. In three chapters the author goes beyond the diplomatic record in an attempt to relate

the negotiation and terms of the convention to the British and Russian positions in Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia. In this attempt he is at times on unsure ground, as when he assigns the Persian oilfields to the sphere of influence accorded to Britain (p. 337), but he makes effective use of trade figures to indicate the gains of Russian mercantilism over English *laissez faire* in the bazaars of Central Asia and suggests that the triumph of Moscow over Manchester in Persia had a bearing on the spheres of influence delimited by the diplomatists.

Through his analysis of the convention, particularly in its relation to Indian defense, Dr. Churchill is led to challenge the view that Nicolson and his government were outmaneuvered by the Russians and to conclude that the bargain was fairly even but that "whatever distinct advantages were contained in it came to the credit of Great Britain, the stronger and consciously active party in the negotiations". One may accept this general verdict without agreeing that Britain demanded and obtained "everything in Persia to which a defensible claim could be made" (p. 250). The English government deliberately excluded from its claims a considerable part of Persia in which its influence was preponderant, notably the Karun basin and Bushire, in order to dull Izvolsky's fears, but it did not thereby sacrifice anything from the point of view of imperial strategy.

Bennington College.

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY.

*Palestine: The Reality.* By J. M. N. JEFFRIES. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. xxiii, 728. \$8.00.)

Mr. Jeffries's book on Palestine, like *The Awakening of the Arabs* by Antonius, is one which every informed student of the Near East in general, and of the Arab lands and the Zionist movement in particular, must read with utmost care. It deals with the intricacies of the Arab-Zionist problem from 1914 to 1938 in very considerable detail. From the very beginning to the end of his book the author makes his position absolutely clear. He is a bitter opponent of political Zionism, he believes that the Arabs have been very unjustly treated, and he scathingly condemns the British government's policy in Palestine. Despite the polemic nature of his treatment, Mr. Jeffries's thorough knowledge of the subject, his familiarity with its many aspects known previously only to an initiated few, and his extensive documentary evidence compel respect and demand the critical attention of a wider circle of readers than the specialists in the field.

In dealing with the British commitments to the Arabs Mr. Jeffries has nothing particularly new to contribute, but his chapters on the Balfour Declaration are revealing and throw much light upon the hitherto obscure political maneuvers which led up to the historic declaration of the British foreign secretary of November 2, 1917. After tracing with meticulous pains the origin of the Balfour Declaration the author says of Balfour's letter to

Lord Rothschild: "Nothing more cynically humorous than the final couple of lines of this letter has ever been penned."

To American readers Mr. Jeffries's analysis of the part played by Justice Louis Brandeis in framing the Balfour Declaration and in gaining the support of President Wilson is of particular interest. The author, quoting Mr. de Haas, concludes that the American Zionists, and under their influence President Wilson, were in no small degree responsible for the action of the British cabinet in supporting the Zionist movement. It may come as a surprise to many that influential members of English Jewry were profoundly opposed to political Zionism and attempted to prevent the British government from giving its endorsement to Zionism.

An interesting point made by the author is that the "Civil Government" set up in Palestine in 1920 was an unlawful government because the mandate for Palestine was not awarded to Great Britain at that time, and could not be because the peace treaty with Turkey had not then been concluded. In consequence the status of Palestine should have remained "occupied enemy's territory" under the rules of war, in which no new policies could legally be instituted which would prejudice the final disposition of conquered territory. Mr. Jeffries argues that this "illegal Civil Government" was created to get rid of a military administration which was unsympathetic to Zionism and which was obstructing the activities of the Zionist Commission in Palestine. General Bols, former chief of staff of General Allenby, the chief administrator of Palestine in 1920, in his report to the British cabinet denounced the activities of the Zionist Commission and recommended its abolition. Lloyd George is accused by the author of violating the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Considerable space is given to the Rutenberg Concessions, which are described as "monopoly grabbing", not with the aims of the usual commercial project but for the purpose of acquiring such control over the main natural resources of Palestine as to assure the Zionists of complete political power. Mr. Jeffries claims that the Zionists had conceived of this "grandiose scheme" before the armistice and that detailed plans had been prepared by 1919. The author implies that the British government granted these concessions in a manner which was more than dubious.

Mr. Jeffries condemns the policy of the British government on two counts. He insists that its actions were illegal and were a repudiation of promises given to the Arabs; and he maintains that its policy has been dishonest and immoral. No one can question the sincerity of Mr. Jeffries. His book is replete with the moral indignation of a liberal idealist who feels that his ideals have been betrayed. Nevertheless, his thesis is so thoroughly supported by authoritative evidence that it cannot be disregarded. The book gives no evidence of anti-Semitism nor can it rightly be criticized as the work of a writer using his materials to forward racial antipathies. Rather,

it is the work of a sincere and honest student of one of the most controversial problems of contemporary history.

*University of New Hampshire.*

WILLIAM YALE.

*The Fall of the Russian Monarchy: A Study of the Evidence.* By BERNARD PARES, Professor of Russian History, Language, and Literature, University of Liverpool, 1908-18, University of London, 1919-36. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. 510. \$5.00.)

SIR Bernard Pares is uniquely qualified to write the history of the last years of the Russian monarchy. As a student of Russian affairs and a yearly visitor to Russia during the last decade and a half of the reign of Nicholas II, he has watched the unfolding of events, discussed them with many of the participants, and supplemented these observations and investigations with a study of the published materials, particularly the diaries and memoirs of the period. These observations and the supplementary research have convinced Professor Pares that "the cause of the ruin of the monarchy came not at all from below but from above", and this conviction has determined the character of the book. It is a history of the last years of the monarchy considered from the top down rather than from the bottom up. It deals largely, though not entirely, with persons in high places or the anterooms of high places, with diplomatic, political, and military matters, and above all with the tortuous intrigues about the throne. The principal sources are the testimony of members of the imperial family, of the government, and of society; there are no references to the testimony of revolutionary leaders, great or small, except Kerensky. This is quite in line with Sir Bernard's thesis that the revolution was not made by the revolutionists but from above.

These sources furnish the materials of an enthralling narrative peopled with characters more interesting than the imagination could invent. Sir Bernard handles these materials with great skill. His handling of certain episodes, for example the murder of Rasputin, the fall of the regime in 1917, and the tragic epilogue, are especially memorable, and the whole book is in the best tradition of British historical narrative.

Professor Pares writes briefly of the first ten years of the last emperor's reign, giving excellent portraits of the truly autocratic Alexander III and of the young emperor and his bride. With respect to the Russo-Japanese War Professor Pares, it seems to me, attributes more responsibility to Plehve and the reactionaries than they deserve and less to the tsar, who revealed in this pre-Rasputin period his exceptional capacity to choose the most dubious and incompetent agents and to accept the worst possible advice. The account of the state дума and its emasculation follows in general the familiar liberal pattern. There follows an interesting analysis of Russo-German relations emphasizing particularly German economic and political

aggressiveness and German and Austrian responsibility for the war of 1914-18. The war itself is considered at somewhat greater length, and about two thirds of the book is devoted to the period from 1914 to the abdication.

The climax of this tragic drama, the "major crisis in the whole of Russian history", as Sir Bernard puts it, is the attempt of the progressive forces to bring the government and the country together by eliminating the sinister influences about the throne, by the appointment of a ministry of confidence, and by other measures which would have put an end to the autocracy but might have saved the monarchy. Professor Pares tells in considerable detail how the empress and Rasputin defeated these attempts. He tells, too, how progressives and conservatives, despairing of persuasion, were discussing other means to save the monarchy in spite of the monarch when the denouement of revolution came. The later phases of the revolution and the civil war are considered only as the background of the characteristically mis-managed efforts to save the emperor and his family from the fate which finally overtook them in the cellar of the Ipatyev house in Ekaterinburg.

*Stanford University.*

H. H. FISHER.

*Toward an Understanding of the U. S. S. R.: A Study in Government, Politics, and Economic Planning.* By MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 245. \$2.50.)

*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Short Course.* Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.). Authorized by the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.). (New York: International Publishers. 1939. Pp. xii, 364. Trade edition \$2.00; popular edition \$1.00.)

THERE is little in common between these two books. Professor Florinsky has contributed something toward an understanding of the Soviet Union, chiefly on subjects of political and economic organization. Two introductory chapters describe the decrepitude of the monarchy during its last years and its submersion by war and revolution. These furnish the background for the Soviet state and its activities, with which the remainder of the volume is concerned. The vastness of the undertaking in a modest space has turned out rather well. No marked sympathy is shown for the old regime, which failed to bolster itself by accepting the assistance of leaders possessing public confidence; but the impression should not be left that these liberals had much ability. While it is quite proper to point out that the revolutionary parties had little to do with the overthrow of the monarchy, the role played by the revolutionary populace is not sufficiently admitted.

The analysis of the political structure and the economic developments in the Soviet Union is the best part of the book. There is probably no way in which the institutions of Soviet government and the turgid articles of



Soviet constitutions can be made live reading. There is evident relish in the exposure of the shortcomings of Soviet planned economy, in the futility of accepting, or even of finding, Soviet statistics as a source of reliable information. Yet Mr. Florinsky also gives recognition to the genuine accomplishments of the new order, even though they were attained at excessive cost of life and money. At the end of the volume there is a list of books valuable as sources and presumably as guides for further study. A beginning student would have greater assistance if more good books in English had been included, with some indication of their value.

The other volume under review is an orthodox, official history of the Communist party in a Stalinist version. It has been published in huge, cheap editions in many languages. It is required reading for many persons in the Soviet Union, and to help these unfortunates a series of aids and commentaries is rolling off the state presses. These are generally longer than the chapters of the original text. It is a stupefying piece of work. It is miraculous how well-established history can be rewritten. Judgments on many of the old leaders, now executed or in exile, are revised into condemnations. Other persons, now in power, have had their past reconstructed and their prescience extolled. It is a revelation to read, for example, how the ending of the armistice with the Bolsheviks by the Germans in February, 1918, "was the signal for a mighty revolutionary upsurge in the country" which shortly led to the repulse of "the forces of German imperialism" and to the willingness of Germany to conclude a peace, whose terms for the upsurging revolutionaries "were now far more onerous than those originally proposed" (p. 217). The language of the book is often uncouth. The chapters lack unity and coherence, but they certainly do possess emphasis. Each one closes with a "Brief Summary" which goes to show how greatly it could be compressed.

In different ways these books suggest an adaptation of Talleyrand's nostalgic complaint: "No one who has not lived before 1789 [*sc.* 1917] knows how pleasant life can be."

*Brooklyn College.*

ROGERS P. CHURCHILL.

*Austria, October, 1918–March, 1919: Transition from Empire to Republic.*

By DAVID F. STRONG. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 329. \$4.00.)

THIS book is an important contribution to the understanding of the process which led to the final extinction of Austria. The enormous significance of this historical development was obscured by a vast postwar literature, mostly dominated by party and class considerations. Especially after the occupation of Austria by Hitler and even more after the beginning of the second war, most of the writers dealing with the Austrian problem tried to describe the past in such a way as to furnish arguments for the establishment of a future Austria in agreement with their predilections.

Mr. Strong has no such axes to grind and gives a perfectly detached analysis of the history of Austria during the half year which marked the transition from the Habsburg empire to the democratic republic. This almost microscopic inquiry gives a thoroughgoing picture of all the enormous difficulties which the Austrian remnant of the vanquished empire faced after the breakdown of its military structure. Its involved problems of administration, of food, fuel, and frontiers, its economic maladjustments, the confusions with the armistice commission and of foreign relief, and the party and ideologic conflicts are treated with a sure hand.

The essential facts which Mr. Strong presents are not new, but he gives a great number of details which show more clearly the prevailing mass psychological situation during this period. He has used extensively and with insight the representative papers and magazines of the main contending parties and also another source, the excellent economic periodical, *Der Oesterreichische Volkswirt* of Dr. Stolper, which stood above the envenomed party and class struggles and throws a beam of light on the real background of the period. But what gives a special flavor of originality to the author's analysis is the ample utilization of the treasures of the Hoover War Library of Stanford University, which contains complete files of the American relief administration and extremely valuable personal letters, reports, and memoranda of disinterested observers.

Aside from its monographic value, the importance of the book lies in the fact that it demonstrates convincingly how the fundamental problems which led ultimately to the German occupation of Austria were already looming over the first beginnings of the new Austrian democracy. We see, for instance, how the *Anschluss* constituted the main orientation of the progressive forces in Austria, opposed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the remnants of the imperial army and bureaucracy, and monopolistic capitalistic interests. (Of course, with the advent of Hitler this situation changed considerably.) It is also evident that the clash between clerical conservatism and rural individualism on the one side and Marxian internationalism on the other was growing into an unbridgeable abyss between the two camps. If the old monarchy was pertinently called a *Monarchie auf Kündigung*, the new regime could have been called as appropriately a *Demokratie auf Kündigung* because neither of the two contending parties believed sincerely in the possibility of a national democracy. The Christian Social party maintained in its heart its former authoritarian and dynastic ideals, while the Social Democratic party was always fascinated by the idea of the impending social revolution with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This reviewer has often emphasized this irresolvable social and moral antagonism as the ultimate cause of the *finis Austriae*. It seems that the present book gives additional force to this argument.

Oberlin College.

OSCAR JÁSZI.

*Fascist Economic Policy: An Analysis of Italy's Economic Experiment.* By WILLIAM G. WELK, Professor of Economics in the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xx, 365. \$4.00.)

*The Syndical and Corporative Institutions of Italian Fascism.* By G. LOWELL FIELD, Instructor in Government, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 209. \$2.75.)

Dr. Welk's text is divided into three main parts: the first concerns the background and ideology of fascism; the second, fascist syndicalism and the rise of the corporate or corporative state; and the third, the economic development of the fascist state, 1922-37. There are also three charts and fifty-three tables relating to various aspects of Italian economic life, appendixes containing, for the most part, summaries of or excerpts from laws of the corporate state, a bibliography, and an index.

The discussion of historical factors is extremely disappointing and is characterized by so many loose generalizations and errors of fact and interpretation that readers would do well to disregard it completely. Dr. Welk partly makes up for his irresponsible history by offering a detailed and, on the whole, well-informed description of fascist economic policy and its syndical and corporate system. In his evaluation of this system and policy he is fully aware of certain serious objections that have been leveled against them, pointing out, for example, how the fascist governmental, syndical, and corporate machinery is completely dominated by the fascist party and, in turn, by its leader, Mussolini. Although claiming that "the mass of Italians sympathize with Fascism and, on the whole, support the regime", the author is also convinced that Italy's "future and real progress" depends on the return of liberty and democracy and that the condition of Italian labor under fascism has "not only failed of improvement but has been made worse".

Dr. Field's book, a competent and rather technical description of fascist syndical and corporative institutions, particularly from the viewpoint of formal public law, will probably be most useful to political scientists. In certain places the author's treatment is much too formalistic: statistics are given of negative votes on bills brought before the fascist chamber of deputies and the Italian senate, but no attempt is made to discuss the reasons for and the meaning of those votes. Data concerning such votes in the senate would have proved more illuminating if the author had realized that there are a number of antifascists in the senate. In truth, the procedure of the senate, but not the conscience of all its members, has been fascistized. Dr. Field's biographical information on speakers at a general assembly of the national council of corporations is based mainly on a source of questionable value, Savino's *La nazione operante*. Had he used other sources, his information would doubtless have been more instructive. For instance,

Panunzio's background as a revolutionist is not noted by him or by Savino. Given its character as a dissertation, it is surprising not to find in this volume a bibliography of the considerable literature on its subject. Several important items are not even mentioned in the footnotes. Finally, an error on page 8 may be noticed: Mussolini began to edit *Il Popolo d' Italia* in 1914, not in 1915.

*Queens College.*

GAUDENS MEGARO.

*The Economic Recovery of Germany from 1933 to the Incorporation of Austria in March, 1938.* By C. W. GUILLEBAUD, Lecturer in Economics in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xiv, 303. \$3.25.)

*German Financial Policies, 1932-1939.* By KENYON E. POOLE, Assistant Professor of Economics in Brown University. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 276. \$3.50.)

THESE studies are analytical descriptions of the economic policies and methods pursued by German governments during the past decade and of the amazing recovery of the Reich from abject depression. The authors make little effort to relate economic policy to other Nazi procedures. But within their field they present adequate, complementary accounts based upon critical scrutiny of official statistics. Guillebaud's essay, which is the more comprehensive and concise, includes an incisive account of the structure and problems of German economy as a whole.

Both writers are chiefly interested in appraising aspects of the German experience in terms of trade-cycle theory. Guillebaud derives much aid and comfort for the Keynesian theory that public investment is a corrective for recession; while Poole finds that "pump-priming" failed entirely in the sense of stimulating private investment and that "practically the whole of the increase in employment and investment over 1932 has been due to rearmament" and related activities. There is agreement, however, that no theory of any kind, much less consistency, had much to do with the choice of procedures which accompanied the rapid recovery. There was deflation and inflation; taxation and public spending; withdrawal of government from direct production and a more rigorous control of wages, investment, foreign exchange, and prices. Poole analyzes the fiscal techniques with ingenuity, finding theoretical and empirical grounds for believing that tax remission and general subsidy types of business relief were more helpful than other devices. But neither writer achieves causal understanding of the whole phenomenon.

What these studies do show is a relation between tactics and the peculiar German economic situation. Given the will to increase production and employment in the face of a passive balance of payments, a disorganized capital market, and a critical condition of public revenue and credit, it was

essential that policies be chosen which would not cause purchasing power and prices to increase with production. It seems possible that the writers might have made a Marxian argument, deriving the bulk of Nazi political and social action from this "capitalistic" dilemma. But they show some grounds for supposing that this would have simplified the facts. True, Guillebaud supplies some indirect support for this interpretation in admitting that corporate profits have increased more rapidly than national income. But he holds that "the wages of labour have maintained a practically constant proportion". Both writers think that the working class as a whole in 1937 had a higher scale of consumption than in 1932 and as high as that of 1928-29, despite limitations in the output of consumers' goods. In short, recovery has been partly at the expense of those small, independent enterprisers who formed part of the class basis for the Nazi movement. Under conditions of controlled costs and rising government demand, large units have achieved greater productive effectiveness. Owner enjoyment of the ensuing profits has been restricted by the fiscal devices by which rearmament has been financed. What all classes chiefly have received has been societal realities like status and security and national consequence, the intangibles of economic analysis.

Does the continued operation of the system require a world organized on a similar basis? Or is it enough that an economic system have some extrinsic goal, like conquering a wilderness or an enemy civilization, to be effective? These are unanswered questions. At all events, neither writer yields much support to wishful prophets of German economic breakdown.

Wellesley College.

LELAND H. JENKS.

#### AMERICAN HISTORY

*We who built America: The Saga of the Immigrant.* By CARL WITTKE, Professor of History and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Oberlin College. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1939. Pp. xviii, 547. Trade price \$5.00; school price \$3.75.)

In this long-anticipated volume Dean Wittke has not only written the best history of American immigration yet to appear; he has also made a significant contribution. He does this by expanding an important thesis: "The grand central motif of United States history has been the impact of successive immigrant tides upon a New World environment, or the interaction of so-called 'racial', or immigrant, characteristics with the forces of American geography." This process began, he believes, with the coming of the first settlers and continued until the restrictive legislation following the first World War ended one epoch in our history—an event as important as the closing of the frontier.

Dean Wittke examines the forces driving each immigrant group to

America, the migration, and the settlement in the new land, as must every author of a general history of this sort, but he does so with a thoroughness lacking in previous studies. More important is his analysis of those economic, political, and social habits of aliens which have been adopted into the pattern of American life. The culture of the United States today, he clearly shows, is not simply an English civilization slightly modified by alien influences but a richly colored mosaic formed by the blending of many European stocks.

Such an ambitious work as this must necessarily encounter criticism. To this reviewer the failure to mention the 2,606,551 English immigrants who arrived between 1820 and 1929 hardly seems justified in view of the author's thesis, for their contributions to American life were extensive, even though less sharply defined. The space allotment is also questionable. Dean Wittke devotes one hundred pages to colonial immigration, three hundred pages to the Old Immigration, which swept into the United States from Northern Europe between the Revolution and the 1870's, fifty pages to the New Immigration, which flowed from Southern and Eastern Europe after the 1870's, and thirteen pages to Oriental immigration. The small space allotted the Chinese and Japanese seems justified by their relatively slight effect on American life, but the disparity between the Old and New Immigration is more questionable. Future historians may find that the Italians, Russians, Poles, Jews, and other migratory strains of recent years modified American culture as much as the Irish or Germans. In Dean Wittke's justification it must be pointed out that our nearness to this immigration and the relative lack of materials available partially justifies his treatment.

The organization, which is topical within broad chronological periods, must have cost Dean Wittke many sleepless nights, but it still fails to emphasize the book's principal thesis. The reader learns what each immigrant group contributed, but he is left to himself to blend those contributions into the pattern of American life. Particularly unfortunate is the bunching of all native objections to aliens, from colonial days to the recent exclusion acts, in a final chapter. The Know-Nothing agitation cannot be understood apart from the Irish and German migrations of the 1840's and 1850's any more than the A.P.A. movement can be isolated from the New Immigration.

These criticisms are not meant to obscure the merits of this volume. Dean Wittke's vast labors and sympathetic approach have produced a book which stands pre-eminent. It will be widely used as a text; it should be required reading for all Americans who subscribe to the "racial theories" enjoying such a vogue in the intolerant world of today. In these scholarly and vivid pages they would learn their debt to the immigrants who built America.

*Smith College.*

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON.

*Casebook in American Business History.* By N. S. B. GRAS, Straus Professor of Business History, and HENRIETTA M. LARSON, Assistant Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 765. \$5.00.)

THIS book deserves the careful attention of all teachers of American economic history. In line with the traditions and methods of the Harvard School of Business Administration, it is an effort to present equipment for the teaching of economic history by means of cases and by using "business history" as the point of departure for the general study of economic history. "The general emphasis", says the preface, "is on business administration, that is, business policy, management and control. The objective is the study of decisions made and actions taken under varying circumstances in the pursuit of private profit and social gain." In another place the authors insist that "One general idea is basic . . . the heart of business is administration, and that administration can best be studied through the individual business man or enterprise."

In what is apparently the first casebook in business history the authors have evidently made unusual efforts to provide educational equipment, and as a pioneer effort in this field the method of presentation is worth study. The volume begins with a fifteen page "General Introduction to Business History", taking the story from petty capitalism through mercantile, industrial, and finally financial capitalism. The treatment is conservative in its point of view and by no means unopinionated. Many, for example, including Roosevelt and Thomas, will be surprised to know that Roosevelt after 1932 "almost took as his own the socialist platform of Norman Thomas". Following this introduction are some suggestions for the use of the casebook and an outline for a course on business history. The latter consists of topics with bibliography and, where possible, cases to go with them.

Of the forty-three cases presented all are in the field of American history except six—those on Sir Thomas Smythe, Boulton, Watt, Josiah Wedgwood, John Law, and Hugo Stinnes. The form of presentation follows a somewhat similar pattern: first, a general statement, which is followed by a chronological summary of the main events, the body of the case, a bibliography, and "suggested questions". It is in the body of the cases that great differences are to be found. Some of them include a large amount of source material, such as the one on the "Development of Internal Markets". Others, as the one on the Second Bank of the United States, are largely the author's history based on primary and secondary sources. Four—those on Lloyd's, the American system of government, the American merchant marine, and flour milling—are merely outlines or "skeleton cases". Four other so-called cases under the division "Secular Trends in Business History" seem more like a general history of American business from 1815



to 1920 than cases in the sense in which the term is used elsewhere in the book. As the authors have pointed out, there are large gaps. The South and West have not been touched, marketing organizations have been inadequately dealt with, and public utilities have not been discussed. Except in the case on Gary and the United States Steel Corporation, labor appears to have been neglected. Possibly labor is not part of business history. At any rate there can be no question as to the scholarship of what has been done, based as it is on the competent research of Porter, Larson, Hartsough, Hower, and other students of Professor Gras. Nor can there be any doubt as to the great value of these cases to students of American economic history.

Smith College.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

*Elihu Yale: The American Nabob of Queen Square.* By HIRAM BINGHAM, Former United States Senator from Connecticut. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1939. Pp. xiii, 362. \$3.50.)

As a merchant adventurer born in Boston in "western India" who sought a fortune in "eastern India", Elihu Yale forms a visible human link between two parts of the old British Empire. He would not deserve to be forgotten even had he never attained immortality by falling in with Cotton Mather's suggestion for perpetuating his "valuable name" on a monument destined to prove "much better than an Egyptian pyramid". A true son of Yale, Senator Bingham has walked with diligence and thoroughness in the footsteps of her patron saint. Thanks to his efforts at the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office as well as in private collections of manuscripts, the facts about Yale which are yet to come to light must be exceedingly few. This work will long hold the field as the standard biography. It gives us an excellent picture of what life was like at the East India Company's factory of Fort St. George in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Elihu's slow journey to the "southward" to bargain for "cowles" and privileges well portrays the relationships between the company and Indian rulers as they existed at that period. His difficulties with his council during his governorship of Madras and the bitter accusations against him which went so far as to charge him with the crime of poisoning his colleagues reveal human nature as it existed within the tiny European communities exiled in the East.

The smaller a European community in India was, the more it became characterized by incessant squabbling and all manner of petty spitefulness. Mr. Bingham is inclined to take some of these quarrels too seriously. After reading many such "consultations" recorded at Madras, this reviewer feels that there was sometimes little really dangerous fire under a vast amount of this sort of smoke. "Spreading" one's protests upon the records was an Anglo-Indian pastime; it made an otherwise dull and precarious existence in an abominable climate more bearable. In the course of his narrative Mr.

Bingham effectively disposes of the stories that Yale hanged his groom and cheated the King of Siam. From these pages Yale stands out as a keen merchant and an administrator of more than average ability, benevolent but not overgenerous by nature. The struggling little college at New Haven would almost certainly have received nothing if its interests had not been well served by Jeremy Dummer, General Nicholson, and Cotton Mather.

While Mr. Bingham is to be commended for writing a work which may rightly be described as a "must" book not only for Yale men but also for students of Indian history, one can only regret that he did not take time to delve more deeply into the Indian background of his subject. He is so anxious to present every scrap of information about Yale that he almost entirely overlooks the problem of placing his subject in the proper setting. Yale was, after all, only one of several governors of Madras of that era, and we would be glad to know where he stands among his peers. Interesting though Yale is because of his American birth and a somewhat singular career which would no doubt have rescued him from complete oblivion, many a reader would like to hear what Senator Bingham thinks "old Eli" would have amounted to if he had never given a single penny or piece of calico to the college which bears his name.

Lack of familiarity with seventeenth century India leads Mr. Bingham to overestimate some of Elihu's abilities, especially his epistolary abilities. On page 194 we read, "It is rather remarkable that a man who had had as little education as Elihu should have been able to show as much knowledge of appropriate forms and ceremonies as he did in his correspondence". In all probability there is nothing at all remarkable about this because the letters were drafted by a professional letter writer whose business it was to know how they should be phrased. The quotations which have been culled with such care from "consultations", letters, and diaries would have gained greatly in interest had they been more carefully edited, with the modern spellings of place names beside the originals, and supplemented by a map of southern India in the seventeenth century. A few adaptations of this kind could have brought Elihu's manifold activities at various stages of his career even more vividly before those Yale men, who, thanks to Senator Bingham's exhaustive labors, no longer have any excuse for regarding their patron as a dim and shadowy figure.

*University of Texas.*

HOLDEN FURBER.

*The British Régime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796.* By NELSON VANCE RUSSELL, Professor of American History in Carleton College. (Northfield: Carleton College. 1939. Pp. xi, 302. \$2.00.)

THIS is a pleasantly written and formidably documented history of Michigan during a transitional and troubled period. In the first two chapters, which bring the story down to the end of Pontiac's Revolt, and in the

eighth and ninth, which deal with the Revolutionary War and the subsequent peace settlement, the author disclaims any effort at original investigation, though he has gone back of the secondary works to dip into the sources. The reader would be likely to get the impression that all the rest of the volume has been constructed out of primary materials found by Professor Russell in the course of exhaustive research in the libraries and archives of the United States, Canada, and England. He has produced a comprehensive study. There are two chapters on administration, from which little is omitted except the attempts to solve the problem of the West from 1768 to 1774 and the establishment of the first regular law court under William Dummer Powell. Much space is given to an entertaining description of economic and social conditions, and there is a chapter on transportation and naval defense.

The scholarship of the book is open to severe criticism. It has two grave faults, the lesser of which is a prodigal carelessness. This is reflected in an enormous crop of minor errors, such as references to Thomas Pownall as governor of *New York* and to *Sir* Guy Carleton years before the king knighted him; and also in a considerable number of grosser errors, such as the misreading of an ordinance (which incidentally is given an impossible date), the citation of the French version of this ordinance as something entirely different, and the confusion between dispatches and their enclosures, which leads the author to ascribe to Dorchester the words of others. It may also be observed that the full bibliography is a little too full. There is no indication that one list of manuscript volumes described individually is comprehended in a larger series mentioned in a later single entry.

More serious is another matter. Six months before the date appended to the preface of this volume the author was taken to task in this *Review* (XLIV, 419) by Professor Clarence E. Carter for an essay published in *University of Michigan Historical Essays*, on the ground that it was "strikingly similar to one published on the same subject some fourteen years ago by Milo M. Quaife", though, as Professor Carter stated, the author did cite Quaife's article. In the present volume he has reprinted this essay as the chapter on transportation and naval defense referred to above. In his final chapter, "The End of the Régime", he has gone further. He has borrowed freely, this time without any acknowledgment, from my *Old Province of Quebec* (Minneapolis, 1933). Passage after passage, one of them almost a whole paragraph, is lifted with little change of wording. From this work, also, Mr. Russell has copied seven quotations of documents and has presented them as the result of his own research by copying also the references to the sources. But each time he has given himself away—for example, by copying the wrong supporting footnote. With how many other authors has he taken the same liberties? This question has inspired the cautious wording of the third sentence of this review.

*The University of Minnesota.*

A. L. BURT.

*Benjamin Franklin*. By CARL VAN DOREN. (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. xix, 845. \$3.75.)

IF the world of scholarship is symbolized by a pyramid, with documents and records at its base, upon which monographs, special studies, and theses rise upward to synthesis and general history, there is to be found in the carefully hewn stones of the pyramid ample reason for opposing those who, belittling the monograph and the factual study, would substitute for this symbol a trylon and perisphere and make of every pedestrian scholar a writer of history in the grand manner. Mr. Van Doren's *Franklin* is a splendid justification of the pyramid theory of scholarship. As the apex of a great library of special writings about Franklin, it is biography in the classical tradition, enveloping its subject with exact knowledge and sympathetic understanding and giving to it that unity and universality which only the artist in the scholar can achieve. Specialists such as Smyth, Eddy, Ford, Crane, Farrand, Hays, Nolan, Livingston, and others have added much in recent decades to our knowledge of Franklin by exposing the apocryphal and discovering the unknown. As Mr. Van Doren generously recognizes, his biography of Franklin is in part a summation of their labors. It is also in large part a product of his own wide-ranging researches in the whole Franklin literature. More important, it is a product of his own art and understanding through which Franklin emerges not as a man of incredibly varied interests and achievements but as "a harmonious human multitude", moving with a serene acceptance of life through some of the very important events of modern history.

The specialists may, if they choose, take exception to statements of fact or of interpretation. I do, for example, in the treatment of the Penns and in what appears to be overemphasis on Franklin's influence as president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania to the neglect of forces at work in that state while Franklin was in France. But, while noting the rare instances in this volume in which honest differences of opinion may exist, I prefer to rejoice that the previous researches of scholars have found such a masterful interpretation. According to the publishers, Mr. Van Doren's *Franklin* has been more widely distributed than any American biography since Weems's *Washington*. Not often do the specialists find their laboriously garnered but unread facts set forth with such skill to such a wide audience. If historians have a social obligation, it is in the too rare instances such as this that the benefits of their studies can be obviously and clearly set forth.

In the whole library of works devoted to Franklin there are only two full-length biographies that adequately summarize the facts of his immense life and possess also the status of works of art, the present one and that of James Parton, published in 1864. Two others, denied such characterization by their brevity, nevertheless have that understanding artistry which entitles them to comparison—the sketch by Becker in the *Dictionary of American*

*Biography* and the essay by Sainte-Beuve. Parton produced a useful and standard biography, likewise in the classical tradition. It may still be read with profit. But Parton was born in England. Mr. Van Doren was born in the Middle West. His Franklin is not precisely the Franklin for whom Parton, with all his tolerance and admiration, occasionally apologized. His Franklin, one feels at every point, is the real Franklin, with nothing extenuated, nothing essential omitted: his earthiness, his opportunism, his occasional coarseness. Mr. Van Doren not only gives us the Franklin of the world of science, of diplomacy, of politics, of literature, with his infinite capacity for using his powers effortlessly to the last degree of efficiency, but he gives us back the Franklin whom, he says in a severe indictment, the "prim people" have appropriated: the Franklin who preached thrift but was never able to practice it; the Franklin who is known for his homely virtues but was devoted as few have been to the pleasant graces; the Franklin who is regarded as a conservative but became, in old age, a revolutionary. But Mr. Van Doren has done more than rescue Franklin from the "prim people"—if indeed they ever had sole custody of him: he has produced the best study of Franklin in the three quarters of a century since Parton, and he has established a great landmark in the field of American biography.

Princeton University.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

*Knight of the Seas: The Adventurous Life of John Paul Jones.* By VALENTINE THOMSON. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1939. Pp. viii, 608. \$3.50.)

So many biographies have been written of that football of fortune, John Paul Jones, that it would seem that nothing new can be left to say about the man. Yet Miss Thomson has discovered a great deal of new material after indefatigable research in French, Russian, and Dutch archives and contemporary journals and memoirs. The result is a book of fascinating interest, perhaps the most interesting to the general reader of any Jones biographies yet published. And yet to one who has spent years in study of the commodore's career certain conclusions are drawn by the author which seem hardly justified by the evidence at hand. For instance, most students of Jones's career have long believed that at one time he served as an officer in the British navy. This was deducted from the fact that Jones himself once wrote of valuable knowledge that he had acquired from "many officers of note in the English Navy". No further shred of evidence, to this reviewer's knowledge, has ever been found to justify this belief. Yet in this book it is stated positively that a Lord Queensbury, brother-in-law of the Earl of Selkirk, "recommended him to a commander in the Royal Navy who placed him for training among the officers of a man-of-war". No documentary evidence of any sort is given for this forthright statement.

Certain rather obvious errors mar the many excellent qualities of this

book. One of Jones's French marine officers on the *Bon Homme Richard*, Count de Chamillard, ranks as a lieutenant on page 240 but becomes a colonel on page 270. Lord Dunmore is credited with the burning of Norfolk on New Year's Day, 1777, and Commodore Esek Hopkins is blamed for not visiting vengeance on him in January, 1776. Lord Dunmore did burn Norfolk, but on January 1, 1776. Hopkins was delayed in leaving the Delaware by ice alone. The treaty which ended the French and Indian War was signed in 1763, twelve years before Lexington, and not in 1783, as this book would lead one to believe. The author seems oblivious to certain defects in the commodore's character which most of his biographers have found it necessary to mention. These very defects made it difficult for him to get along well with his subordinates or to secure what he needed from his superiors. Franklin himself was fully aware of his friend's limitations. The spectacular tale of the alleged "secret romance" of Paul Jones with the Russian princess, Anna Mikailovna Kourakina, rests on too insecure factual foundations to be worthy of a place in a volume supposed to be historically accurate. In fairness it must be said, however, that the author appends this "secret romance" to the main body of the volume "as a beguiling and plausible legend", and as such it must be considered until more weighty evidence is forthcoming.

Miss Thomson, however, has given better than any of Jones's other biographers the historical background of the Paris and the France of the late eighteenth century in which Jones and Franklin and the other American commissioners worked. No other biographer of Jones has stressed the far-reaching influence of the Masonic order on his life and work. From this biography Jones has emerged a very human, very appealing figure whose work was better appreciated by Frenchmen of his period than by his American contemporaries. No student of the naval history of the American Revolution can afford not to be familiar with this book.

*United States Naval Academy.*

LOUIS H. BOLANDER.

*Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century.* By REBA CAROLYN STRICKLAND. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 211. \$2.50.)

AFTER a detailed and careful study of the religious policies of the colony of Georgia Dr. Strickland concludes: "In general, Georgia appears to have contributed little that was original to the development of church-state relations, although practices of other colonies and states were much modified by peculiar local conditions" (p. 185). And again: "On the whole it appears that the pattern of relations between religion and the revolution which was apparent in the colonies as a whole could be seen in Georgia with here and there an individual variation growing out of local conditions" (p. 160).

The study, however, shows more variations in the Georgia picture than these quotations would lead us to suspect. These variations were largely due

to the geographical location of the colony and the peculiar circumstances of its founding, of which the invitation to the persecuted Protestants of Europe was not the least important. Because of the latter policy the religious composition of the colony became distinctly cosmopolitan, with a medley of evangelical sects and even some Jews. Religious freedom comparable to that of Pennsylvania became the rule in the new colony except for Catholics, who were under great suspicion partly because of the proximity of French and Spanish enemies.

What developed in Georgia was to be expected. The Anglican Church was not made the official religion, and there was no enthusiasm for an episcopate. All freeholders were allowed to vote for vestrymen, whose numbers frequently included dissenters. Few Anglican clergymen were attracted to this distant and backward mission field of the S.P.G. Activities of itinerants created scarcely a stir. Glebes were granted to dissenters so as to attract them. Vestries became more important as local governing bodies than as church agencies. The Anglican Church was too feeble to arouse real opposition, and no wall of exclusiveness shielded it. There were not the conditions to produce a Great Awakening in Georgia.

Under such circumstances it would have been strange if Georgia, after independence, had not assumed advanced ground in matters of religion and conscience. Dr. Strickland gives us the background for such a conclusion. It must be said, however, that the author is much more concerned with cataloguing details than with interpreting their significance.

*The University of Maryland.*

W. M. GEWEHR.

*Control of Federal Expenditures: A Documentary History, 1775-1894.* Compiled by FRED WILBUR POWELL. [The Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institution.] (Washington: Brookings Institution. 1939. Pp. x, 928. \$5.00.)

THE complacency with which our public finances have been handled throughout our history, even down to the present moment, is almost beyond belief. It is perhaps explainable only on the basis that a large, rich, relatively underpopulated country can survive for a time in spite of much mismanagement and even recklessness. But recently, at least, we have been going at a pace that cannot continue to be accelerated forever. It is high time, therefore, that someone should take thought of controlling our public expenditures, though it appears almost ironical to think that any economy movement could be initiated in the face of current demands for more billions for preparedness.

Dr. Powell's painstaking compilation may well serve as the beginning of the construction of a solid foundation for such a movement. Heretofore the basic materials have been widely scattered, nearly all have been out of print, and most of them have been available in few libraries. Dr. Powell's purpose was to bring together in a single volume the significant materials of



more than a century, but he laments the gaps and imperfections in the records and particularly the lack of interest of biographers and chroniclers in the subject of finance. Nevertheless, this stout volume is evidence not only of a considerable amount of material but also of diligence and discrimination in its compilation. Included are "proceedings, resolutions, orders and ordinances of the Continental Congress . . . informative remarks, speeches, and debates in Congress", and pertinent committee and other official and unofficial reports. "Federal statutes, court decisions, Attorney Generals' opinions and comptrollers' decisions" are, however, omitted.

The material is arranged chronologically with a certain amount of topical subgrouping. The value of the compilation has been increased by the system of footnote and bracket references and by a seven-part index: (1) Resolutions and Ordinances of the Continental Congress; (2) Statutes at Large; (3) Revised Statutes; (4) Opinions of the Attorney General; (5) Decisions of the First Comptroller; (6) Cases; (7) General.

It is hoped that Dr. Powell will finish the task he has begun by promptly publishing the documents from 1894 to date and writing an interpretation and conclusion (possibly another volume) that will raise up an Alexander Hamilton, a Moses, or other genius with the wisdom and courage to lead us out of the financial wilderness in which we have wandered for more than a decade.

*The University of Minnesota.*

ROY G. BLAKEY.

*The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History since 1815.* By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL, Larned Professor of American History, Yale University. [The Ronald Series in History, edited by Robert C. Binkley and Ralph H. Gabriel.] (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1940. Pp. xi, 452. \$4.00.)

THIS volume deals with democratic thought from the early Middle Period to the present time. Although primarily concerned with ideas, it treats them in relation to the characteristics of certain great periods in American development, as indicated by six parts: the social and intellectual background of the Middle Period, the sectional controversy, the age of Darwinism and industrialism, the conflict in scholarship, the progressive age, and the age of disillusionment and insecurity.

In his second chapter Mr. Gabriel formulates the early doctrines of the democratic faith: "God, the creator of man, has also created a moral law for his government and has endowed him with a conscience with which to apprehend it. . . . The second doctrine . . . was that of the free individual. . . . The third . . . was that of the mission of America." Here, in effect, was the fund upon which later thinkers drew as they considered democracy from period to period in relation to their times. Despite vagaries, this democratic faith has been and is "a system of checks and balances in

the realm of ideals. It asserts the possibility of a balance between liberty and authority, between the self-expression of the free individual and the necessary coercion of the organized group. The democratic faith is, then, in essence, a philosophy of the mean. It proclaims that, within broad limits of an ordered nature, man is master of his own destiny."

This thesis Mr. Gabriel illustrates rather than demonstrates. For the various periods he cites selected writers. For the Middle Period speak such representatives as Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, Emerson, Thoreau, Orestes Brownson and Isaac Thomas Hecker (for Catholicism), Melville, Mathew Carey, and Friedrich List; for the Civil War democracy, especially Walt Whitman; for the scholars, William Graham Sumner, Turner, Royce, Henry Adams, and William James; for the progressive era a strange galaxy, including Simon Patten, Richard T. Ely, Washington Gladden, and Herbert Croly; in the center of the postwar world is Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The total result is a book which well deserves careful consideration at the hands of all who are working at history, especially American history. *Ideengeschichte* has been too long neglected in the United States. Mr. Gabriel has grasped boldly at a phase of it. It is to our advantage that he has done this and marked a break with traditional history. In the years ahead, doubtless, more work of this kind will be done. Meanwhile, more preliminary labors are necessary for monumental achievements. The assumptions, philosophy, and methodology of the history of ideas need exploration. More rigid definitions and discriminations ought to be established. Closer attention should be given to the relations of ideas and interests. A library of monographs dealing with particulars ought to be written. Then the ground will be better prepared. Yet the business of making sharper the outlines of the target and the business of shooting at it will probably go on together, and for Mr. Gabriel's contribution we may be duly grateful. It is full of suggestiveness. It hits off "intellectual sparks". It may be taken as a happy augury of coming things in the domain of historiography. Let him who thinks that he can draw the arrow to the head take up Mr. Gabriel's bow and test his strength and skill.

*New Milford, Connecticut.*

CHARLES A. BEARD.

*The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863.* Edited by AMELIA W. WILLIAMS and EUGENE C. BARKER. Volume II, *July 16, 1814-March 31, 1842.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1939. Pp. xxxi, 539. \$3.25.)

THE greater part of the present volume covers Houston's career from January, 1837, to March, 1842. The editors in keeping with their original purpose take advantage of criticisms and suggestions called out by Volume I to correct or give additional information on some thirty-six items that appeared in that volume as well as to print thirty-nine other items covering

the years 1814 to 1836. The corrigenda and additional bibliographic information were largely supplied by Professor W. C. Binkley and Mr. Herbert Davenport. The new items consist in part of routine recommendations and statements of service. Four of these items are characterized as doubtful. Possibly the letter of September 21, 1824 (p. 6), should also be added to that list. The early addenda include one important letter to Lewis Cass (p. 15), explaining Houston's journey in 1833 to San Antonio de Bejar.

The calendar of the main part of the volume fills twenty pages. It covers the activities of Houston's first administration from January, 1837, to December, 1839, and of the first three months of his second administration in 1841-42. About ninety pages only are devoted to the intervening three years, when Houston divided his activities between his personal affairs—including his second marriage—and his services in the Texas congress. Interspersed among official documents and political speeches are traces of an unsuccessful love affair.

The important questions of his first administration centered in relations with Mexico and the United States—later with Great Britain and France—and with the Indians. In respect to the last problem, which Houston carried through the intervening years and into his second administration, his attitude was wiser and more conciliatory than that of most of his contemporaries, including his successor, Mirabeau B. Lamar. The latter was largely responsible for an ambitious and extravagant policy of expansion that left Texas hopelessly bankrupt and determined the main tasks of Houston's second administration—retrenchment, reconciliation of the Indians, and frontier defense against Mexico—in which he was to be only partially successful.

The annotation of this volume, as of the preceding one, devolved largely upon Miss Williams. Her notes reveal wide and minute knowledge of this period of Texas bibliography and abundantly justify her associate's statement that they afford "an important contribution toward a biographical dictionary of Texas". A perusal of the volume arouses increasing appreciation of local scholarship in the Lone Star State as well as of the work of the editors.

*Northwestern University.*

ISAAC J. COX.

*Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860.* Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING, Treaty Division, Department of State. Volume X, *The Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Documents 4477-5032*. Volume XI, *Spain, Documents 5033-5678*. Volume XII, *Texas and Venezuela, Documents 5679-6174*. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1938; 1939; 1939. Pp. xxxvii, 913; xlii, 1017; xxxiv, 858. \$5.00 each.)

THESE are the final volumes of a large work begun by Dr. Manning

more than twenty years ago. This series, the first volume of which came from the press in 1932, was preceded by another containing documents from the archives of the State Department dealing with the independence of Latin America. These two publications, fifteen volumes in all, entitle the editor to a high rank among the scholars in his field.

The first of the three volumes now under review contains documents reminding the reader of the interest of the Netherlands in America because of possessions in South America and certain small islands in the Caribbean. These Dutch possessions in the New World have recently assumed peculiar importance to the United States because of the course of the war in Europe. This volume also contains documents revealing the relations of Paraguay with the United States and with its neighbors in the Río de la Plata area, documents dealing for the most part with claims and commercial relations. It likewise includes correspondence throwing light on the place occupied by Peru in the world politics of the period. In the case of Peru the United States was concerned primarily with guano, pecuniary reclamations, and possible European aggressions against the Pacific coast of South America.

The second of these volumes consists of an important collection of diplomatic correspondence on the relations of Spain with Spanish America and especially the relations of the United States and Spain in respect to Spanish America. Most of the documents are concerned with Cuba, but, as the editor remarks in his preface, the subtitle selected for the volume is Spain instead of Cuba because Cuba had not won its independence and the United States technically could not have diplomatic relations with Cuba. The correspondence reveals the strategy diplomacy of the United States, the eagerness of the United States to control the destiny of Cuba, the early aspirations of some of the Cubans either for independence or for annexation to the United States, and the operations of filibusters against the Spanish authorities in the island—in short, the place of Cuba in world politics from 1831 to 1860. The remainder of the documents in the volume are important mainly as a revelation of the reluctance of the mother country to reconcile itself to the final loss of its colonies in Central and South America.

The final volume of the series deals with Texas and Venezuela and the relations of the United States with these two and with other nations in respect to them. The foreign relations of the Republic of Texas have been so thoroughly treated by Professors E. C. Barker, E. D. Adams, and others that the correspondence contained in this part of the publication makes no startling revelations. The documents dealing with Venezuela furnish the basis for a study of the early relations of the United States with Venezuela and with various European powers, especially England, in respect to that Latin-American nation. They contain, among other topics, information on the controversy over the title to Avis Island, important because of its guano deposits, on the pecuniary claims of various nationals against Venezuela, on

the apprehensions of the United States with reference to European aggressions against this American nation, on Anglo-American competition for its trade, and on Venezuela's turbulent politics and its social and economic conditions.

Like the previous volumes and all of Dr. Manning's works, these three attain the highest standard of scholarship. Dr. Manning is an extraordinarily able editor. The notes and citations are adequate, the volumes are almost free from typographical errors, and the indexes are as exhaustive as could reasonably be expected.

The twelve volumes of the series present the fundamental documents bearing on the relations of the United States with Latin America and the relations of the United States with the leading European nations in reference to Latin America. Of course they do not present all the documents on the subject deposited in the State Department; that would require a work many times as large. But they should constitute the starting point for any serious work on this important and vast subject. The judicious investigator will begin with these documents, supplement them by further examination of the manuscripts in the National Archives, and realize that his knowledge is not complete until he has searched the repositories of Europe and Latin America.

*The University of Chicago.*

J. FRED RIPPY.

*Home Missions on the American Frontier, with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society.* By COLIN BRUMMITT GOODYKOONTZ, Professor of History, University of Colorado. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1939. Pp. 460. \$3.50.)

WE have in this volume an example of a piece of historical research which was begun as a doctoral dissertation, carried on over a relatively long period of years, and finally brought to a full-rounded, definitive conclusion. Doctors' dissertations are often published too soon, precluding adequate research and mature judgments, and I know of no better argument for delay in publication than is furnished by this exhaustive and thoughtful study. Anyone moderately acquainted with the voluminous and widely scattered sources with which Mr. Goodykoontz has had to deal will understand why so long a time has intervened between conception and completion. Those of us who were aware that this study was in process rejoice in its appearance and congratulate the author on furnishing essential insight in helping us to understand how it was possible, often in a single generation, to transform a rough, raw frontier into orderly and intelligent communities. Religion was the leaven hidden in the lump which was largely responsible for such transformation, a leaven which brought a larger meaning to life, inspired to higher ideals, and raised the moral tone of society. It is with this leaven that the author deals, a factor which has been too much overlooked by those

who would explain the frontier phase of our history. While giving chief attention to the American Home Missionary Society, probably because its archives are the most voluminous and accessible, Mr. Goodykoontz summarizes the home missionary activities of the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Episcopalians. His understanding and use of the peculiar nomenclature of these several bodies is always accurate and is in itself an unusual accomplishment. The author's thorough understanding of American history enables him to fit the activities of the home missionaries into their appropriate economic, social, and political background. In other words it is not a partial picture that is here drawn; religion is not considered a "hot-house" plant which must be given special treatment or consideration; it finds its rightful place among the multiple interests of the developing society of the frontier. The treatment is always objective, but at the same time there is intelligent appreciation and full understanding.

A phase of religious activity on the frontier which seems to have been overlooked is the work carried on by the Baptist farmer preachers. This was far more important in spreading the Baptist gospel, especially in the early West and in the South even to this day, than any formal home missionary activities carried on by the Baptists. Nor was the early Methodist advance due to formal missionary societies. The whole organization of frontier Methodism was adapted to the meeting of frontier needs. In neither case was religion transplanted from the East to the West; both were indigenous to the soil. Missionary activity, as carried on by the American Home Missionary Society, too often delayed the rise of indigenous organization and created a dependent attitude. Here we have a partial explanation, at least, why both Methodists and Baptists far outstripped Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

Some sections of the book might have been improved if the author had had access to a number of recent studies in manuscript, such as C. T. Thrift's "The American Home Missionary Society in the South, 1826-1861" and Evah I. Ostrander's "The American Home Missionary Society in Oregon, 1849-1870". Perhaps some thought should be given as to how such materials may be made more widely available.

*The University of Chicago.*

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

*Thoreau.* By HENRY SEIDEL CANBY. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. Pp. xx, 508. \$3.75.)

IN a "Preview" to his book the author sketches some "half-dozen possible biographies of Thoreau", each emphasizing a particular aspect of his complex character. Lesser biographers have exploited the paradoxes which this classification implies; Mr. Canby has succeeded in the far greater task of integrating the varied themes into a complete and balanced whole. The work triumphantly demonstrates that thorough scholarship is the surest pathway to freshness of interpretation.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XLVI.—12

In some respects the author's greatest contribution is his steady concern with Thoreau as "a life-long apprentice to the art of good writing". Biographers have often proved more Transcendental than Thoreau himself, content to attribute his style to the benign influences of nature or intuition. As an editor Mr. Canby knows better, and he proceeds to consider Thoreau's life partly in terms of a writer's search for a theme, an audience, and a practicable way of life.

More publicized, though of minor significance, is Mr. Canby's investigation of the exceedingly virginal love affairs of Thoreau. Tactfully presented, his conclusions free Thoreau from any suspicion of abnormality and indicate what part sublimation must have played in his thought. The identification of individuals, heavily veiled in the original sources, is reasonably convincing. In the case of Sophia Foord, surmise admittedly plays a larger part than evidence in Mr. Canby's argument, but his conjectures are triumphantly vindicated by an unnoted passage in the biography of Elizabeth Buffum Chace by Lillie B. C. and Arthur C. Wyman (Boston, 1914, I, 131). In 1854, five years after the rumor of her suicide (Canby, p. 258), Miss Sophia Ford [*sic*], "a dark-skinned, pudgy-featured woman", was serving as governess in the abolitionist household of Mrs. Chace. She taught botany by means of field trips, and her pupils felt that she "brought Concord to Valley Falls [R. I.]". In private moments she "confided to Mrs. Chace her conviction that Thoreau's soul was twin to hers, and that in 'the Other World' her spirit and his would be united".

This is a book rich in interpretation. The exact nature of Emerson's influence upon the young men of the time has never been more thoughtfully examined. Matters often obscured or misunderstood are cleared up: the relatively late development of Thoreau's minutely accurate observation, the influence of his life at Walden in turning his mind outward towards the objective world, the relation between his observations of nature and the formal scientific research of his day. Brilliant perceptions of intellectual influence are frequent: the contributions of Harvard, of Brownson, of the literatures of the seventeenth century and Greece and the East, of the traditions of New England diary writing.

What one sometimes misses is the examination of influences less proximate than Emerson and less remote than the seventeenth century—Carlyle, for example; or the traditions of the American Revolution and the Unitarian controversy; or even Brook Farm. The pages on American society as a whole belong near the beginning, not sandwiched into a critique of *Walden* (pp. 282-86). Slips of the pen are few; but the *Boston Quarterly Review* was founded before Brook Farm (p. 59); George Ripley was not from Concord (p. 275); and Angelina Grimké was married to Weld not Birney (p. 409, but correct on p. 410).

Columbia University.

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.



*John Tyler, Champion of the Old South.* By OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD, Professor of History, West Virginia University. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 496. \$4.00.)

JUST one hundred years ago there was under way the perfervid campaign which made John Tyler of Virginia first Vice-President and then President of the United States. Of what happened while he held these high offices many have written. But historians, while they have had to frame an estimate of Tyler, have interested themselves rather in the course of events than in Tyler himself; and biographers have chosen other subjects. One exception to this, indeed, there has been. The striking figure of John Tyler's son, Lyon Gardiner Tyler, is doubtless recalled by only a few of the present readers of this *Review*. But his book, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, is known, of course, to every student of this period as a storehouse of facts, a source for part of John Tyler's correspondence, and a remarkable example of the filial type of "vindication". Apart from his son's book there has been, as to Tyler, a sort of biographical vacuum, certain one day to be filled. To tell, in one small volume, from Tyler's own standpoint, the story not only of Tyler's presidency but of his whole life has been the aim of Dr. Chitwood. One of the impressions first received by a critical reader of the work is that the author, indebted as he must of necessity be to the *Letters and Times*, appears only rarely to be dominated by it and writes generally with independence of opinion.

Born in Virginia, as had been his forbears for generations, and educated at nearby William and Mary, Tyler entered politics in 1811 at the age of twenty-one. In the course of the next thirty years he was thrice (at different periods) a member of the house of delegates of Virginia, one of the council of state, a representative in Congress, governor, a member of the constitutional convention of 1829, and senator from Virginia. Of Tyler as a Virginia politician Dr. Chitwood gives an adequate factual account. A disposition to moralize, as in the matter of Tyler's position respecting slavery, aligns the author not with the "new" but with the older biographers of the "life and times" sort. As the first part of the book describes Tyler's career in Virginia, the last chapters picture his emergence from a long retirement at Sherwood Forest, his estate on the James, in futile efforts to bring about a political compromise of the old type and save the Union; failing in which attempts, the aging statesman threw what energy was left him into the promotion of the secession of Virginia and the union of the state with the Southern Confederacy.

To Tyler's term as President Dr. Chitwood devotes about two hundred pages. Hardly any of the issues and major happenings of these crowded and fateful years is left unmentioned. Consequently the treatment is very brief. Into the stormy conflict with the Whigs in 1841 Dr. Chitwood goes

rather fully, presenting fairly the dilemma with which Tyler was faced. Either he must surrender to Clay and the Whigs, or he must stick to his principles and take the consequences. That Tyler, although by no means untouched by the desire to succeed himself, did what he thought was right Dr. Chitwood believes and maintains convincingly.

What one misses chiefly in Dr. Chitwood's treatment of the political and economic issues that Tyler had to meet is a reflection of the wider views that have found expression in the monographic writing of recent years, founded on materials which seem to have escaped Dr. Chitwood's notice. Although the whole story of the bank controversy has not yet been told, such a book as McGrane's *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts*, based in large part on the Baring Papers in the Canadian Archives, shows that one can no longer be content with the traditional version of the fiscal struggle of 1841. Still more lacking in freshness of treatment are the twenty pages into which Dr. Chitwood has compressed his account of all the diplomatic negotiations of Tyler's presidency except those which had to do with Texas. In regard to Texas he has little to say of the officious interference of England and France, which drew from Tyler a revival of the Monroe Doctrine, although in his message he did not mention that doctrine by name. Nor does Dr. Chitwood give any account of the efforts that were made through Tyler's intimate, Wise, to influence Brazil in opposition to England's antislavery policies.

Dr. Chitwood's book is well written, well proportioned, and, in general, excellently printed. To include in the text, instead of placing them in footnotes, references to other pages or chapters is today a practice somewhat unusual. Over the phrase *advocatus diaboli* the schoolmen of William and Mary would perhaps shed a tear. The five-power treaty that was negotiated for the suppression of the African slave trade was certainly not the Quintuplet Treaty. But these are very small and unimportant slips. While one cannot ascribe to Dr. Chitwood's *Tyler* the originality or the depth of research that marked McCormac's *James K. Polk* or Nichols's *Franklin Pierce*, the author is nevertheless to be congratulated on the performance of a useful task and one that was well worth doing.

*The Library of Congress.*

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

*Life on the Circuit with Lincoln.* By HENRY CLAY WHITNEY. Introduction and Notes by PAUL M. ANGLE, Illinois State Historical Society. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1940. Pp. 530. \$5.00.)

THE present volume, the old Whitney in a new and better form, exemplifies what will be increasingly needed if the Lincoln theme is to be rescued from uncritical amateurs. Whitney's association with Lincoln occupied seven years (1854-61) of picturesque travel on the famous judicial circuit of Illinois; in 1892 he published a kind of anecdotal biography whose

salty reminiscences give it unique value. In recent years collectors have paid high for their Whitneys. Rarity plus significance made reprinting desirable; in addition, critical attention to the older work was needed to give it just the niche it deserves, neither more nor less, in that uneven body of material which constitutes Lincoln historiography. The original text is reproduced except that obvious typographical slips are corrected (misspellings and grammatical errors being retained), quoted material has been identified and differentiated from the author's words (not an easy thing), and unnecessary capitalization has been eliminated. Mr. Angle's introduction gives the best available critique of Whitney; his succinct footnotes offer the correcting results of recent scholarship with citations for further study; an adequate index makes the material usable for reference.

In the editorial appraisal of Whitney's contribution it is shown on the one hand that he borrowed largely in fields beyond his observation, that he accepted Lamon and Herndon uncritically, that he exaggerated his own importance, and that incidents in his later law practice give reason to doubt his reliability; on the other hand the very formlessness of his work gives it value where Whitney had reason to know, and there is ample documentary evidence of his close relation to Lincoln. On two points Angle's conclusions should be stressed: he finds reason to doubt the Whitney text of Lincoln's speech at Urbana on October 24, 1854, and he is unconvinced by Whitney's "reconstruction" of Lincoln's "lost speech" at Bloomington on May 29, 1856. Skepticism on the latter point is based upon the unexplained omission of so choice an item in *Life on the Circuit* (its appearance was in *McClure's Magazine* in 1896) as well as its dissonance with Lincoln's known utterances and with a contemporary report in the *Alton Courier*. As to the Whitney story itself little need be said because it is so familiar. With all its defects it is a classic in its close-up portraiture of Lincoln and its circumstantial recounting of circuit riding days. As Angle says, only six men who knew Lincoln well "wrote extensively of his life"; of these, only Herndon and Whitney "are intimate, realistic and convincing" (pp. 19-20).

*University of Illinois.*

J. G. RANDALL.

*Foreigners in the Confederacy.* By ELLA LONN, Professor of History, Goucher College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 566. \$5.00.)

Two widely accepted beliefs of Southern history go down under the weight of Dr. Lonn's array of evidence in this competent monograph: that few foreign born were domiciled in the South before the Civil War, and that the Confederate armed forces, unlike those of the North, received little help from men of alien birth. Her researches, which ranged from the Confederate archives in Washington to those of Texas and included sources of almost every description, disclose that on the eve of the war no less than a quarter

of a million persons of foreign birth were residing in the eleven secession states and embraced all classes "from noblemen to ditchdiggers". They were to be found in various lines of business, the trades, and the professions, and in the leading Southern cities from Richmond to Galveston foreigners accounted for from 20 to 40 per cent of the white population. The Irish, English, and Germans predominated, but nearly every nation of Europe appears to have been represented.

After analyzing the views and motives of the major foreign groups toward slavery, states rights, and secession, Dr. Lonn proceeds to relate the part played by the foreign born in the war years. Some fled the country, others claimed exemption from war service, but the record of the vast majority, as the author assembles it, is a notable tribute to their loyalty and devotion to their adopted domicile. Although unable to compute their number with exactness, Dr. Lonn states that "there were tens of thousands of foreign born in the ranks, many more tens of thousands in the reserve home guards". Foreigners with field experience and technical training were warmly welcomed and made excellent contributions at the front and behind the lines, and to such success as it enjoyed on the seas, in ships of the line, privateers, and blockade runners, the Confederacy owed much to foreign-born officers and crews. The civil establishment drew frequently upon resident aliens for diplomatic and propaganda work abroad, and the foreigners in the civilian population were of incalculable value in carrying on industry and business when volunteering and conscription drained off Southern men from the home front.

Despite the extent and importance of their assistance, Dr. Lonn's narrative demonstrates that the prewar prejudice against the foreigner lingered in Southern official and civilian life. Comparatively few aliens were entrusted with army commissions above the rank of captain. In both the Confederate and the state governments there was much sentiment for coercing aliens into the army, and the conscription laws affecting them were frequently denounced by resident consuls and their nationals as oppressive and in contravention of international practice in civil wars. But Dr. Lonn concludes that "under the circumstances the Confederate authorities afforded the best protection possible to their alien population".

Some of the material presented is quite familiar to students of Confederate history, but much is new, and all is well buttressed with statistics and citations. In the opinion of the reviewer the volume would have been improved by the excision of considerable detail and the cutting down of anecdotal material, some of which seems to be of dubious authenticity, but these criticisms are of little consequence in comparison with the merits of sound scholarship and lively interest which characterize the book.

*Dartmouth College.*

A. HOWARD MENEELY.

*Samuel Jones Tilden: A Study in Political Sagacity.* By ALEXANDER CLARENCE FLICK, assisted by GUSTAV S. LOBRANO. [American Political Leaders, edited by Allan Nevins.] (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1939. Pp. ix, 597. \$5.00.)

As an intimate political biography this book takes high rank. The author had the advantage of the preliminary work of John Bigelow, whose *Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden* appeared in 1885, to be followed ten years later by a full-dress biography. But Bigelow's work was that of "a vindicator, not a historian". Valuable as it was, it lacked the two most outstanding qualities of the present volume, perspective and impartiality. Dr. Flick knows well the environment that produced Tilden, for he has lived in it, but he views the political action in which Tilden participated from the vantage point of a subsequent generation. He records without understatement the heat of the party battles in which Tilden took part, but he resists the temptation to allow his own temperature to rise. Moreover, he has added much to the story that Bigelow either did not know or failed to tell. Particularly interesting is the full record of the part that Bigelow himself played in Tilden's career.

The diligence with which Dr. Flick has performed his task is abundantly apparent. The reader can easily believe that the research and writing which went into this book occupied all the author's spare time for a nine-year period. Footnote references to the Tilden Papers, a "large, indispensable collection of letters and documents", appear on nearly every page. Unfortunately these papers, in accordance with instructions contained in Tilden's will, were "carefully sifted four times by the executors to exclude everything derogatory to Tilden", a process which withheld from the historian much valuable material. These excisions, so Dr. Flick tells us, were mainly concerned with the events of the last twenty-five years of Tilden's life. They were particularly directed toward the Civil War period and the disputed election of 1876, but they were also noticeable with reference to certain railroad and business transactions. Fortunately Dr. Flick was able to examine some forty other manuscript collections, and from them he has culled much data that the Tilden Papers lacked. His work shows many gleanings also from newspapers, periodicals, and other printed sources.

While Dr. Flick attempts to review in detail every political episode in which Tilden took part, he does not alter materially the impression most historians have held of Tilden's participation in public life. For example, few will disagree with the author's contention that Tilden was deliberately counted out of the presidency in 1876, and fewer still with the evidence upon which this conclusion is based. The effort to examine so minutely this and practically all other incidents of Tilden's career does not always make for sprightly reading; moreover, it would take genius of a high order to

produce an exciting book about so tedious a person as Tilden. But in spite of these handicaps there are passages of really admirable writing of which any author could be proud.

The hold that Tilden won during his lifetime upon the American public is difficult to understand. He was personally insignificant, a "little, saw-toothed, shambling dispeptic". "He had won no victory on the battle-field; he was not a magnetic orator; he had written no masterpiece of literature." Furthermore, he was a shrewd and none too scrupulous political manipulator, a rich corporation lawyer, and in his personal relationships with his fellow men "cold-hearted, gruff and merciless . . . egotistical, opinionated and self-centered". But in spite of these things, or so Dr. Flick believes, his contemporaries accorded him a degree of devotion that suggests comparison with a Moses or a Lincoln. "The explanation of this mass psychology", says Dr. Flick, "is that Tilden conquered through his ideas. His denunciation of corruption in public office, his demand for reformed government, his trust in the wisdom of democracy, his superb faith in American institutions as adequate to meet the needs of the nation, and his record in overthrowing the evil Rings made a powerful appeal to all types of people" (p. 333).

The book has an admirable forty-page analytical index and a few well-chosen illustrations. In format and in editorial workmanship it is above reproach.

*The University of Wisconsin.*

JOHN D. HICKS.

*The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography.* By HENRY F. PRINGLE. Two volumes. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1939. Pp. xii, 556; viii, 557-1106. \$7.50.)

IN eleven hundred pages Mr. Pringle has gathered up that part of seventy-five years of American history of which William Howard Taft was a part. This includes many significant chapters of American life: Vermont ancestry, social, professional, and political life in Ohio, Yale in the late seventies, the mauve decade in American economic and political development, the Philippines as they were thirty-five years ago, the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations in Washington, the building of the Panama Canal, four years of the American presidency, eight years of the Yale Law School, and a decade of the Supreme Court.

The Taft Papers in the Library of Congress are so formidable as to discourage any but the stoutest heart. The author has placed to his credit a heroic achievement, in some respects larger than was represented by his biography of Theodore Roosevelt. The varied character of Taft's life and activities and the fact that so much of the information was buried in endless files of correspondence set these two volumes apart in a small group of biographies of notable Americans. The subject will not have to be done over.

The author has held steadily to the pattern of biography and has not encumbered his narrative with history, except as the latter contributes to the demands of the former. In spots one wishes that there were more history, but without adding more pages to the work. We shall have to go elsewhere, for example, to find out just what Taft did in the Philippines or as Secretary of War other than talk Philippine affairs and build a Panama Canal. Only in the chapters on the Supreme Court does Taft, the administrator, appear clearly. The presidency is adequately treated.

Of great value are the vignettes of many national figures who pass in and out of the picture: Aldrich, Ballinger, Beveridge, Bliss, Borah, Brandeis, Bryan, Butler, Cannon, Carnegie, Cleveland, Coxey, Crane, Daugherty, Fall, Foraker, the Garfields, Harding, Holmes, Hughes, Johnson, Knox, La Follette, Lodge, McKinley, McReynolds, Penrose, Pinchot, Roosevelt, Root, Wickersham, Wilson, and many more. Each of these is characterized by his own letters, by Taft, or by Pringle—only the author is objective. Whatever Taft may have been as a judge, he clearly was not very judicial either in the choice or the valuation of his associates. In appraising him as a figure in American history, nothing is more important than his estimate of his contemporaries. His score is not high.

It is difficult to select in these two volumes outstanding chapters, for the level is uniform and never low. Ohio politics, always significant in American history, is portrayed for a quarter of a century. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy is rewritten to do more credit to Ballinger and most of all to Taft's sense of loyalty to a Cabinet member who was set upon and who became a heavy political liability. Taft was always loyal and often equally stubborn. He was inept in self-expression, writing too many badly chosen words, and often he spoke the same way. Dollar diplomacy, for example, was not in his administration half so bad as he himself described it. The Mexican policy illustrates a characteristic myopia which disclosed itself repeatedly in his attitude toward domestic, social, and economic problems. A man of the severest personal integrity, Taft was all but blind in his views of social forces. Pringle presents him as more of a liberal than he in his personal letters reveals himself to have been, but even as Pringle sees him, Taft was all but an anachronism in the last score of his years.

In the Supreme Court Taft's logic sometimes, although not always, carried him somewhat beyond his feelings, but in general feeling was paramount, and it was that adjustment of qualities which made him a lovable but not a great jurist. Pringle, doing his best for the defense, does not succeed in making Taft great, although he has written a very good biography. After reading the volumes one can feel: "America was like that", but the compliment is to the author. Taft himself rarely rose above the level of his age.

As might be expected by those familiar with Pringle's Roosevelt, the latter does not come out well in the review of the famous quarrel. The



Roosevelt stature shrinks from year to year. Before the brutal attack of the bully, Taft, the somewhat spoiled darling of many kinds of fortune, hardly more than flops on the ground and waits in stubborn rage for some new guardian to deliver him from his tormentors. In Pringle's book heroes are scarce.

*Hague, New York.*

TYLER DENNETT.

*Crusaders for American Liberalism.* By LOUIS FILLER. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 422. \$3.50.)

THIS book provides the reader with an excellent piece of reporting on the muckraking movement of the early years of the twentieth century. Through its pages march Lincoln Steffens, Judge Ben Lindsey, Ray Stannard Baker, John Spargo, Charles Edward Russell, and others commonly associated with this reform movement. Some of these reformers are still observing the American scene—with the light of liberalism still burning or with the shadows of the conservatism of advancing years dimming a critical vision.

Mr. Filler makes these men, most of them journalists, live; he makes their interests in some of the abuses and wrongs of the society of the time deserving of the campaign so vigorously and zealously carried on; and he makes converts of his readers to the objectives of exposure and reform. The exploitation of natural resources, corruption in politics, the adulteration of food, the oppression of ethnic groups, attacks on labor, and the avarice of leaders directing the programs of railroads and other corporations were among the revelations made chiefly through magazines such as *Everybody's* and *McClure's*. Some of the articles in these journals challenged enough attention to appear later in book form, as, for example, Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and Miss Tarbell's *The History of the Standard Oil Company*.

There are conspicuous omissions in Mr. Filler's list of crusaders. In spite of a prevailing Republican philosophy, labor radicals were attempting to achieve the ends they desired; anti-imperialists were questioning what was to be called "dollar diplomacy" and asking whether the flag should follow investments; critics were attacking judicial interpretations and decisions; educators and others were asking whether educational establishments were preparing pupils for the complexities of later life; and exponents of the social gospel were phrasing the need of a revitalized and socialized Christianity. With such omissions, Mr. Filler's conclusion that no other group of social workers in any other country accomplished more is open to question.

This is, of course, not the first book on the muckrakers, but it is one of the best written. The author has appended a useful bibliography and a chronology which dates muckraking activities from 1901 to 1917, when

the war halted them. The era of the movement described has passed, and out of it, perhaps because of the muckrakers, have come reforms. In an age when the flowers of civilization seem about to wither it is heartening to read of crusaders whose endeavors were crowned later by some of the reforms they desired.

*The University of Chicago.*

BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE.

*Incredible Era: The Life and Times of Warren Gamaliel Harding.* By SAMUEL HOPKINS ADAMS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. Pp. vii, 456. \$3.00.)

THERE is something wrong with the critical apparatus of this *Incredible Era*. The author reminds the reader of the paucity of the literary remains of President Harding, of their partial destruction by his widow, and of the affectionate but suspicious segregation of the rest in the vaults of the Harding Memorial Association. Baffled at the source, Mr. Adams has leaned heavily upon the observant journalist, "a highly qualified specialist", noting that the journalist "has nothing to conceal, and to embellish fact is a violation of his code". But in this case the highly qualified specialists have told two stories, so contradictory that at least one of them cannot be entirely reconciled with accurate observation and honest portrayal. The testimony related to Mr. Adams, and sometimes whispered in his ear under "pledge of secrecy", supplements his own suspicions from which he produced his fiction version of the period in *Revelry* (1926). These same specialists were reporting the American scene between 1920 and 1923, during which period, with "nothing to conceal", they released an appreciative and approving picture of President Harding. Their contemporary dispatches contain little indication of a knowledge or of a suspicion of general rottenness in the administration. Mr. Adams has not faced the problem presented by specialists who wrote one story while Harding lived and who have given different testimony after his death.

The fact seems to be that Warren Gamaliel Harding was a kindly, well-meaning "joiner", pushed by his advisers into water which was too deep, and let down in a few cases by his friends. There was nothing incredible in the era; it was a normal aftermath of war. There was tragedy in the fact that political necessity made Harding a scapegoat and that those who had to win an election in 1924 allowed his tombstone to be fouled for the advantage of the party organization. It is not likely that the scandals of the Harding administration, by themselves, could have elected a Democrat in 1924; but the scandals, plus the restive West, created a situation in which the party must either surrender to a genuine progressive, which it would not do, or close ranks around Coolidge and throw all blame upon a dead President who, at the moment of his death, was acclaimed by the party and by most of the journalists as a martyr, a typical American, and a statesman.

There is new material here upon the Harding ancestry, but otherwise the book adds little to what Mark Sullivan has written.

*University of California.*

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1924.* In two volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1939. Pp. cxiv, 780; xciv, 764. \$1.50 each.)

THESE volumes reveal that there was no perceptible change in the foreign policies of Mr. Hughes during 1924, the first full year under President Coolidge. American business interests, particularly the oil companies, continued to be the solicitous concern of American diplomacy in Persia, Rumania, Turkey, and elsewhere. The Secretary of State gradually came to recognize the existence of the League of Nations and to co-operate with it in problems of relief, reconstruction, and narcotic control, but Russia remained *terra incognita*. Withdrawal of American military forces from the Dominican Republic and, on the other hand, continued control by such forces in Nicaragua are here described. There are valuable documents concerning conventions with France and Great Britain assuring protection of American interests in the mandated territories of the Near East. Missionaries in China were informed that, regardless of their expressed wishes, they would be required to accept the diplomatic and military protection of the Government of the United States (I, 601-602). The Secretary of War (I, 77-79) contributes an illuminating letter expressing his opinion that the American export trade in munitions is an essential element in national defense and recommending therefore that the United States reject a proposed convention for international control of arms, munitions, and implements of war.

To the historian one of the most important sections of these volumes is that which deals with Japanese exclusion under the Immigration Act of 1924. There are almost eighty pages describing the origins and terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement and, of course, all of the correspondence growing out of Mr. Hanihara's ill-fated note of April 10, 1924, referring to "grave consequences" which might follow discriminatory legislation against the Japanese. It is doubtful whether any disinterested American could read the documents in the case without a sense of shame for the manner in which the Senate and the press of the United States treated the question. The phrase "grave consequences", which, as Mr. Hughes said, was manifestly intended to convey "only an innocuous expression" of regret, was torn from its context, transformed by Senators Lodge, Moses, and others, into a "veiled threat", and used to create altogether specious issues. This is one of two instances in the year 1924 in which the Senate showed something less than disinterested statesmanship, the other being postponement of ratification (and subsequently rejection), largely for partisan reasons, of the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey.

Like their predecessors, these volumes are admirably edited, printed, and bound, and are gold mines for the historian of American diplomacy.

*The Institute for Advanced Study.*

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

*Journal as Ambassador to Great Britain.* By CHARLES G. DAWES. Foreword by Herbert Hoover. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. ix, 442. \$5.00.)

GENERAL Dawes's recollections cover the period from the spring of 1929 to December 31, 1931. They present their maximum interest in connection with the naval conference of 1930 and the Manchurian crisis of the fall of the next year. They give us little information with regard to the Hoover moratorium of the summer of 1931, since the general was in the United States at that time.

With regard to the naval conference, the outstanding conclusion to be reached is that limitation of armaments can come about only when the decisions are taken out of the hands of the naval authorities and put in the hands of statesmen. It is not refreshing—but it is instructive—to discover that the American Naval Board presented a yardstick formula and then asked for eight cruisers according to this formula when arithmetic would have given them four and a half. Naturally, when President Hoover discovered this, they withdrew from the conference. "Stimson, however, went to the Navy Department and at a meeting with the Naval Board demanded their answer. It was that the 'yardstick' after all was only a camouflage and they were but performing their duty of 'protecting the interests of their country', etc. The Secretary of State said: 'Gentlemen, the United States in its international negotiations is not in the habit of camouflaging.'"

On the Manchurian question Dawes's memoirs make it clear that the British government was much less militant than our own; in fact, Sir John Simon, the British foreign secretary, is quoted as having said that while "from the juridical standpoint, China had the best of the argument, from the standpoint of realities, the argument seemed to be with Japan". Despite the American ambassador's expressions of respect for the League, it is clear from the foregoing why it did not function more efficiently in this first great test.

General Dawes throws much light on the negotiations in which he took part; he also naturally throws much light on himself. And we like the man he reveals. Energetic, confident, of excellent business judgment, with such avocations as music and palaeontology, he wins the regard of his readers. It is clear, one must confess, that for him the best of all worlds is a world based on the orthodoxies of the Republican party and the nineteen twenties; but then how should it be otherwise with a successful gentleman who was in his sixties when he was accredited to the Court of St. James?

*The University of Rochester.*

DEXTER PERKINS.

## NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### GENERAL HISTORY

*Handbook of British Chronology.* Edited by F. M. Powicke, with the assistance of CHARLES JOHNSON and W. J. HARTE. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1939, pp. xii, 424, 7s. 6d.) This is a useful compilation and something more. The body of the handbook consists of chronological lists of the rulers of England, Wales, Scotland, and the Isle of Man; chief governors of Ireland since 1172; English officers of state; dukes, marquesses, and earls (1066-1603); English parliaments to 1547; provincial and national councils of the Church of England; and bishops (English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish). Every effort seems to have been made to secure the services of competent scholars. The lists are prefaced by introductory notes which contain helpful bibliographical and sometimes other information. A section on the reckonings of time, which includes a useful table of regnal years from William I to George VI, and one on saints' days and festivals used in dating were contributed by Professor Hilda Johnstone, and a brief section on legal chronology is the work of Professor T. F. T. Plucknett. In a preface to the volume the principal editor, Professor Powicke, explains the genesis and development of the enterprise and calls attention, with disarming candor, to some of its shortcomings, which he attributes to considerations of convenience or lack of space. Thus the list of parliaments ends with Henry VIII, the list of dukes, marquesses, and earls with Elizabeth, and the holders of many important offices are not included in the list of officers of state. "We venture to hope", says Mr. Powicke, "that the book as it stands will be so useful as to call for improvement and enlargement; that, as time goes on, it will grow into a standard work of reference, with its errors and slips removed, its gaps filled, its forms reduced to impeccable uniformity, its usefulness increased by an index."

*Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives, drawn up by Direction of the Netherlands Association of Archivists.* By S. MULLER, J. A. FEITH, and R. FRUIN. Translation of the second edition by Arthur H. Leavitt. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1940, pp. 225, \$3.50.) This is the most important of modern works on archival arrangement and is now put into English for the first time since its original publication in 1898. Except for Hilary Jenkinson's *Archive Administration*, which is based on English practices and considerably broader in scope, it is the only substantial treatment of the subject which is conveniently available. Its detailed prescriptions will not always be appropriate to American needs, and its authors, like other European archivists of the older nations, are much concerned with problems of medieval collections which do not arise in this country. The main principles on which it is based, however, are now everywhere recognized as valid, and for the inculcation of these principles it will be indispensable to all responsible archivists and students until an authoritative American manual is issued.  
ABBOT SMITH.

*Bibliographical Citation in the Social Sciences: A Handbook of Style.* Compiled by LIVIA APPEL, Managing Editor, University of Wisconsin Press. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1940, pp. 30, 60 cents.)

*El origen de la religión.* Seminario de historia de las religiones, Universidad de

Buenos Aires, dirigido por el profesor CLEMENTE RICCI. Curso de 1933. (Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1939, pp. ix, 372.)

*A Comparative Study of Religious Cult Behavior among Negroes with Special Reference to Emotional Group Conditioning Factors.* By RAYMOND JULIUS JONES, Sometime Graduate Assistant in the Humanities, Howard University. (Washington, Howard University, 1939, pp. v, 125, \$1.00.)

*Grandeur et décadence de l'Asie: L'avènement de l'Europe.* By FERNAND GRECARD, ministre plénipotentiaire. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1939, pp. 224, 15 fr.)

*Calabria, the First Italy.* By GERTRUDE SLAUGHTER. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1939, pp. xiv, 330, \$4.00.) The name *Italia* was first applied by the Greeks to the southern part of the Italian peninsula which they colonized. In *Calabria, the First Italy* Mrs. Slaughter has written of the civilization of that region from its founding to the seventeenth century. Her classical interests are strongest, and Magna Graecia has received the major share of her attention, approximately one third of the book being devoted to this first and most brilliant period of Calabria's history. Briefer sections deal, in turn, with Calabria under the domination of Roman, Byzantine, Norman, Angevin, Aragonese, and Spanish conquerors. The theme of the book is essentially "the continuity of culture from Magna Graecia to Rome, from Rome to modern Europe". Going to Calabria with a group of Italian humanitarians to dedicate a schoolhouse in a remote mountain settlement on the Sila, the author was led to ponder how this region "that had been the most prosperous and the most enlightened became the poorest and most ignorant". She later traveled throughout Calabria and came to know the country and its people well. She has not written a systematic history of Calabria. She has not dwelt on the foreign exploitation of this "bridgeway" but rather on the mingling of civilizations in this "meeting place of many races". She has chosen "certain persons and certain cities as representative of epochs and phases of thought" and has written a series of delightful sketches of interesting figures in Calabrian history from Pythagoras to Mattia Preti, seventeenth century painter. Greek poets, philosophers and statesmen, Cassiodorus, "the last of the Romans", medieval saints and mystics, satellites of "the amazing Frederic", Telesio, "a scientist before Galileo", and many others are depicted against the background of some city of Calabria and its ancient civilization. The book has bibliography, index, and excellent illustrations.

GENEVA DRINKWATER.

*The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving.* By HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. xii, 299, \$4.00.) This dissertation is a study which should be of value both to the historian and to the student of literature. Its purpose is to discover such principles as governed the giving of personal names in the early Germanic period. For evidence the author has diligently searched a huge number of contemporary documents, chronicles, archives, and imaginative works in Latin and in various vernaculars. The study falls into two parts, English and Continental, the former being much the fuller since more evidence survives for those Germanic peoples who came to England than for those who remained behind. Much is made of lists of kings both in prose records and in poetry, and a convincing attempt is essayed to explain the custom of alliteration on the basis of the poetical tradition of alliterative verse. Variation and repetition, though copiously illustrated, are less readily accounted for. The study is limited by the available evidence on royal and noble families, since information about the nomenclature of the lower classes, both English and Con-

tinental, is almost totally wanting in this period. The person who finds himself confused by customs of name-giving so greatly at variance with later habits will profit by consulting this book, and the student of pre-Conquest England will find it rich in materials and cautious in generalizations.

STEPHEN J. HERBEN.

*Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library.* By PHILIP K. HITT, NABIH AMIN FARIS, BUTRUS 'ABD-AL-MALIK. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 668, xxiii, 56, \$15.00.)

*Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish, and Indic Manuscripts, including Some Miniatures, in the Princeton University Library.* By MOHAMAD E. MOGHADAM, YAHYA ARMAJANI. Under the supervision of Philip K. Hitti. (*Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 94, x, \$7.50.) The value of the Arabic collection, "the largest of its kind in America, lies not so much in its size as in its contents. It has specimens representative of almost all Moslem lands, scripts and disciplines. The authors comprise Spanish Moslems, Berbers, Egyptians, Syrians, Arabians and others of Persian, Turkish and Malay origin. . . . Almost all the luminaries of the first magnitude in the intellectual firmament of Islam . . . are represented by one or more works. The dates of composition range from the eighth to the nineteenth century and the provenience from Andalusia and Morocco to Burma. . . . Works dealing with religion, theology, jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and tradition (*hadith*) form, as would be expected, the largest group. . . . Another rich field is that of history and biography." The second collection "contains a number of illustrated MSS of high artistic quality and several rare and old copies, of which one or two are unique."

*Türkische Urkunden.* Translated and edited by A. N. KURAT and K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN. (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1938, pp. 59, plates, 15 kr.) This collection of thirteen representative documents from the State Archives in Stockholm, the Uppsala University Library, and the Celsing Estate have been edited and published with a double purpose: to provide a kind of chrestomathy for students of Turkish diplomatic papers, and to give some idea of the nature and extent of Turkish source material in Sweden. Both aims have been admirably achieved through the careful collaboration of the Turkish and Swedish editors. All but three of the documents are reproduced in excellent facsimiles, and all are given in printed Turkish text and German translation, accompanied by a few essential notes. Ludwig Fekete's *Einführung in die Osmanisch-Türkische Diplomatie* . . . remains the fundamental work on the difficult art of reading Turkish state papers, but the present volume will be found none the less useful. The documents themselves are of some historical interest. There are, among others, two letters of Mehmed IV's (1648-87), several from Baltaji Mehmed Pasha to Charles XII, one from Mahmud I to Frederick I of Sweden concerning a commercial treaty, and a copy of the defensive alliance of 1740. An amusing bit is a letter from Kara Mehmed Pasha to a certain Colonel Grothuss begging the latter to present him with another pocket watch, since a friend had relieved him of one the colonel had given him before.

GEORGE C. MILES.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.* Fourth Series, Volume XXII. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1940, pp. vii, 315.) In addition to the presidential address by Professor F. M. Stenton, entitled "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: The English Occupation of Southern Britain", the following



papers are included in this volume: "The Camden Society, 1838-1938", by Charles Johnson; "The Lincoln Diocesan Records", by Kathleen Major; "The First House of Bellême", by Geoffrey H. White; "Some Factors in the Beginnings of Parliament", by J. E. A. Jolliffe; "The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553-61", by Hilda E. P. Grieve; "The Growth of a Borough Constitution: Newark-on-Trent, 1549-1688", by C. G. Parsloe; "Roman Catholic Relief and the Leicester Election of 1826", by R. W. Greaves.

*Miscellany of the Scottish History Society. Volume VI, Bagimond's Roll, Foundation-Charter of the Collegiate Church of Dunbar, Lauderdale Letters, Memories of Ayrshire.* (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1939, pp. vii, 369.) The first item in this volume contains the portions of *Collectorie* 213 relating to Scotland. This document, preserved in the Vatican Archives, is a summary to approximately 1287 of the accounts of the collectors and depositaries of the sexennial tenth imposed universally on the clergy by the council of Lyons in 1274 for a crusade, with appendixes of pertinent documents. The latter, in the case of Scotland, consist of the detailed reports of the collector of the tenth for the first two years, Bohemond de Vitia. The two parts have been edited previously in separate works. The editor, Dr. Annie I. Dunlop, identifies the place names, which the scribes frequently rendered difficult of recognition, translates the summary, and explains competently the nature and significance of the record. The document concerning the foundation of the collegiate church of Dunbar in 1342 is considered important by the editor, Mr. D. E. Easson, because it is the earliest surviving charter of several which changed parish churches into collegiate churches. An introduction and notes provide an adequate commentary. The letters of the second Earl of Lauderdale were written mainly by him to correspondents in Scotland between 1659 and 1672. Most of them were addressed to the Earl of Tweeddale between 1668 and 1670. They supplement the *Lauderdale Papers* edited by Osmund Airy. The letters deal with both family affairs and governmental business and provide significant glimpses of the relations between England and Scotland. Much information of assistance in their interpretation is supplied by the editor, Mr. Henry M. Paton, in his introduction and notes. The Reverend John Mitchell, who was born in 1768, wrote his memories of Ayrshire about 1842. They present an informative and interesting survey of the social life of the period around 1780. They are edited by Mr. William Kirk Dickson.

W. E. LUNT.

*Die deutschrechtliche Siedlung in Polen, dargestellt am Lodzer Raum.* By Dr. EUGEN OSKAR KOSSMANN. [Ostdeutsche Forschungen.] (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1939, pp. 232, 10.60 M.) The author undertakes to treat in detail German expansion into an area of some four thousand square kilometers around Lodz, in the hope that it may be of use to illustrate the general course of German colonization in Poland from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. He is thus able to show how here as elsewhere the German and his law were welcomed into the country by the Polish governing princes, the church, and the nobility, and to allude to the resumption of the movement in the nineteenth century after a lapse of two centuries. The failure of the author, however, actually to put his details into the larger setting of both German and Polish history makes the monograph of interest almost exclusively to the local historian, and its hurried and unfinished manner makes deadly reading of a fascinating subject and, thereby, still more reduces the utility of the work. Even though limited by his sources, the author need not so rigorously have eliminated

the human factor. He could easily have been pardoned an exercise of the imagination that did not have to do with giving a German interpretation to every debatable point. In this as in other similar studies in recent years one can hardly fail to sense the academic preparation for the Polish Blitzkrieg. But there is also, of course, a scholarly Polish *Abwehrskampf* on this as well as every phase of the general theme, which ought to be considered before one accepts the traditional glorification of the beneficent outcome of the German march eastwards. To Polish readers, if to no others, Dr. Kossmann's references to the *Rechtgeist* and the *unabhängigen* and *freiheitlichen Sinn der nordgermanischen Bauernvölker*, as well as to the *freiheitliche Geist, der mit den deutschen Siedlern und dem deutschen Recht in Polen Einzug gehalten hatte*, will have a harsh, ironic, and melancholy ring.

EDGAR N. JOHNSON.

*Commonwealth or Anarchy? A Survey of Projects of Peace from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century.* By Sir JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 227, \$2.00.) A reissue, with some revisions, of a book originally published by Philip Allan and Co., Ltd., in 1937.

*A History of Western Civilization from the Reformation to the Present.* By ARTHUR P. WATTS, Assistant Professor of Modern European History, University of Pennsylvania. Volume II. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1940, pp. xvii, 1055, \$3.75.)

*The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition, including the Text of Buchanan's Defences along with a Translation and Commentary.* By JAMES M. AITKEN. (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1939, pp. lxxv, 166, 12s. 6d.) George Buchanan, the Scottish humanist and reformer, was detained by the Inquisition in Lisbon from August 10, 1550, until February 29, 1552. This period of his life was obscure until the discovery and publication of the records of the trial and Buchanan's defenses by Henriques, too late for notice in the standard biography by P. Hume Brown. The present work prints the Latin text with an English translation of Buchanan's autobiography and of his first and second defenses before the Inquisition. Excerpts from the records of his trial and from those of his companions are given in English translation. A critical introduction and a commentary throw a flood of light upon the attendant circumstances. Particularly commendable is the thoroughness with which references to persons, events, and books have been identified. The significance of the material, apart from the filling in of a biographical gap, lies in the revelation of how a humanist Catholic reformer with leanings toward Protestantism extricated himself from the toils of the Inquisition. His defense was that his attacks had been leveled only against the immorality of disreputable friars and against popular superstitions and bogus miracles. And if he had gone further, he was prepared to abjure and do penance. An Erasmian defense! This study, excellent in every other respect, has one defect: the author has never seen the originals of the documents which he publishes save for a few pages of facsimile reproduction in other works. The manuscripts are in Lisbon and not available in Scotland. But why could not photostats have been obtained? Did the custodians refuse? As it is, the author has collated two transcripts (one manuscript, one printed), both by Henriques, together with another printed version based on Henriques. The resultant text is no doubt superior to anything before available because the author is a good Latinist, but one would have preferred a faithful transcription.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

*The Venetians in Athens, 1687-1688, from the "Istoria" of Cristoforo Ivanovich.*

Edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. [Gennadeion Monographs, I, published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. xiii, 104, \$2.50.) The luxurious dress that has been given to this fragmentary monograph depends apparently on a guess that patrons of art may like to possess a new and well-printed account of the destruction of the Parthenon (September 26, 1687) by the explosion of a Turkish powder magazine. Ivanovich, not an eyewitness of Morosini's Morean campaign, undertook late in life a long-winded history of the events leading up to the siege of Vienna. This work he left incomplete, and the manuscript is now in the Harvard library. From it Mr. Paton selects twenty pages for exhaustive editing. Between Ivanovich's brief text and Mr. Paton's copious notes one gets, in addition to the story of the Parthenon, a vivid picture of life in Greece under the Turkish domination and exceedingly interesting sidelights on the organization of the Venetian army. Mr. Paton contributes two special discussions of his own, one on the alleged mistreatments of Turkish prisoners by the Venetians after the evacuation of Morea and the other, perhaps a little out of perspective, on an alleged opposition to Morosini at home in Venice. As for the Parthenon, a tendency manifested in Italy in 1915 to represent the disaster of September, 1687, as a German atrocity would seem, from Mr. Paton's data, to be well founded. The Parthenon was destroyed by German regiments operating under—and, one may add, probably owned by—a German general, Otto von Königsmarck. The shot, however, that set off the magazine and caused the surrender of Athens was fired by a battery posted by a French adventurer, Reynaud La Rue, while the bomb itself was made by an Italian fireworks designer, Antonio Mutoni. With "responsibilities" thus equally distributed, Mr. Paton goes on to blame Morosini for the whole campaign against Athens. Contemporaries, however, Parthenon or no Parthenon, did not want the Turks in Vienna, and they praised La Rue for a fine shot—"dopo alquanti tiri a vuoto."

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON.

*Historical Records and Studies.* Volume XXX. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1939, pp. 169, \$3.00.) The essays published in this volume include: "The Irish Parliament and the American Revolution", by Leo Francis Stock; "First Fruits of Cuban Catholicism", by Charles Maxwell Lancaster; "The Protestant Tutor, a Forerunner of Benjamin Harris' New England Primer", by Sister Mary Augustina Ray, B. V. M.; and "Pioneer Catholic Weeklies", by Rev. Joseph R. Frese, S. J.

*Modern Constitutions since 1787.* By JOHN A. HAWGOOD. (New York, Van Nostrand, 1939, pp. xii, 539, \$5.50.) This admirable, comprehensive, and well-written survey will give students of modern history and contemporary politics a good understanding of the governmental forms of the past and present and why they have been modified and abandoned. Few specialists in the many subjects touched upon can read it without gaining new knowledge and viewpoints. The author summarizes the constitutional history of practically every country in the world, although the great powers are treated more completely. The survey is even broader than the title indicates, for attention is not confined to the formal constitutions; much fundamental legislation and the broader aspects of national policy are included. The author only rarely falls into the error of failing to detect the many instances of deviation in practice from the letter of constitutions. Examples may be noted in the statement of the powers of the president under the French constitution of 1875, of the structure and functioning of economic councils under the German constitution of 1919, and of ministerial responsibility

under the Soviet constitution of 1936. A book on so broad a subject may be expected to contain errors of fact, but these seem to be few in number and of minor importance. The number of amendments to the French constitution of 1875, the structure of standing committees in the French parliament, and the provisions of electoral laws in France, Germany, and Italy are incorrectly stated. One of the features of the book is a suggested classification of constitutions with newly coined headings for each group. The usefulness of the book is increased by excellent annotated general and chapter bibliographies. JOSEPH R. STARR.

*Military Reminiscences of the Uprising of the Greeks, 1821-1833: History of the Armatoli* [in Greek]. By NICHOLAS K. KASOMOULES. Volume I. [Archives of Modern Greek History.] (Athens, John Vartsos, 1940, pp. lxxvi, 464, 150 dr.) This informative document, written by a slightly schooled Macedonian revolutionary, begins as a general history of the armed chieftains or Armatoli of northern Greece but soon develops into an astonishingly frank autobiography. Part I opens with a succinct account of the immediate factors leading to the war between Ali Pasha of Joannina and the people of Souli and ends with a genealogical discussion of the leading Armatoli, including those who had joined the Greek secret society, the *Hetairia Philiké*. The second part finds Kasomoules, at about the age of twenty, on a commercial quest in Smyrna where he becomes a Hetairist. As a member of that society he presents firsthand information on its extensive revolutionary preparations throughout Greece. On the outbreak of the insurrection the author returns to his homeland and is sent to Dimitri Hypsilanti in the Morea for ammunition. There he is amazed at the chaotic organization of the Greek forces. His candid portrait of the conditions in the Morea is a valuable commentary on the conflicting interests of the thieving soldiers, the abused peasantry, and the arrogant Greek primates. The volume ends in 1825 with some enlightening statements on the life and manners of the people of northern Greece. The editor has done a creditable job. His long preface and the frequency of his explanatory notes vastly enhance the usefulness of this document, written in a vulgar, almost patois Greek. It is hoped that the other two volumes, which will carry the story to 1833, will soon appear, for Kasomoules's memoirs enable the student to understand better the culture of the early nineteenth century Balkans. STEPHEN G. CHACONAS

*The Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and Princess Lieven, 1832-1854*. Edited by E. JONES PARRY. Volume II, 1848-1854. [Camden Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1939, pp. vii, 293-669.) This admirable collection of letters completes the correspondence between two old-school, antirepublican political conservatives. (The first volume was noted in this *Review*, XLV, 141.) From Paris the vivacious Russian, from London the reserved and colorless Scot, kept up a running commentary on public affairs, high and low, international and domestic. The correspondence is fullest for 1850; there is but a single letter for 1854. The editor has enhanced the value of the collection with scholarly notes, principally biographical, sometimes illuminating the various episodes with which the letters deal. For the research student the correspondence is a mine, useful in clarifying a period big with stirring events, since it contains observations on the closing acts of the revolutionary years 1848-49, on the march of events which carried Louis Napoleon to the imperial crown, on the humiliation of Olmütz, on the coming of the Crimean War, as well as on such minor affairs as the perennial Greek question and the creation of a Roman hierarchy in Britain. Aberdeen's ministry of 1852 stirred the sagacious Lieven to write: "Mais quel curieux spectacle, vous, Lord John [Russell], Lord Palmerston!

Qui est le fou qui eût osé prédire cette trinité" (p. 640). With the coming of the war of 1854, which Aberdeen's pacific inclinations were powerless to avert, the correspondence abruptly ceased. For the princess, loyal to Russia, the prime minister became "mon cher ennemi".  
A. J. MAY.

*The American Entente.* By R. B. MOWAT. (London, Edward Arnold; New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. 286, \$2.50.) This is a historical survey of relations between Great Britain and the United States—diplomatic, commercial, and cultural—in reference to what Professor Mowat somewhat startlingly calls the American entente. This entente is not an alliance, not any formal arrangement, not even deliberate co-operation. It is simply co-ordination of policies. This co-ordination with its mutual trust increased despite many points of difference, which eventually were all ironed out. Identic policies were adopted towards major international issues such as European interference in America, judicial settlement of controversies, the Open Door, and the maintenance of principles of international law and order. The entente is the product of a similar outlook, which, in turn, rests upon a period of common history and upon a common culture, especially the classical tradition with its humanistic values. These postulates of Professor Mowat raise issues of evaluation and interpretation on which, naturally, there is room for debate. It is by no means only isolationists who would refuse to share his approbation of the entente. His judgment that nothing more than parallel action was needed would be rejected by those whose ideal of international co-operation goes further than the loosest and most casual of relationships. The real question seems to be why basic similarities of interest produced no relation more effective for world peace. Apparently both peoples were subject in some degree to the same inhibiting force, the product of their common geographical detachment—a distrustful isolationism which affected not only their policies towards the European continent but also, less reasonably, their relations with each other. All this, of course, is aside from the value of the book, which is rich in both fact and interest and timely in presenting the historical background of America's most crucial contemporary issue of international relationship.  
ALBERT K. WEINBERG.

*Special Collections in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace.* By NINA ALMOND and H. H. FISHER. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1940, pp. xiv, 111.)

*Greater Love hath No Man.* Written and compiled by ALICE S. WEEKS. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1939, pp. xii, 237, \$3.50.) A collection of letters written during the World War by members of the French Foreign Legion to Mrs. Weeks, who was known as the mother of the legion and whose residence in Paris served as a home for its members when on leave.

*An Introduction to World Economic History since the Great War.* By J. P. DAY. (London and New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xi, 161, \$1.15.) It is undoubtedly helpful, in the present situation of world affairs, to review dispassionately some of the causes which have led to the economic chaos of today. This is done by Mr. Day in a brief survey of the twenty year period 1918-38. Economic history is narrowly construed—misconstrued—to cover only the fields of public and private finance, but within that limited domain a clear picture is presented. The two decades covered are roughly divided into periods. The first, from 1918 to 1920, was one of readjustment. The work of reorganization was hampered by the destruction of the former international economic and financial relationships and by the legacies of debt and distrust resulting from the war,

but by 1920 the world was ready for a fresh start. Unfortunately another of the legacies of the war was a structure of high prices, resulting from inflation and unbalanced budgets. The period 1920-22 was marked by a slump in prices, which involved practically every country in its disastrous consequences. Inevitably, the financial debacle was followed by a period of monetary devaluations, which continued to 1928. Mr. Day devotes a chapter to what he calls "the last chance", namely the failure of the World Economic Conference at Genoa in 1927 to consolidate the work of economic recovery. To the reviewer the author seems to attribute too much importance to the deliberations of statesmen and too little to the economic forces at work. The period 1929-33 was characterized by a second slump in prices, which again was followed by another series of devaluations, in which the United States joined. The problem that seemed to the author to be presented at the end of 1938 was whether it would be possible for the world to return to and retain a system of free enterprise. That question is even now being answered. E. L. BOGART.

*South-eastern Europe: A Political and Economic Survey.* Prepared by the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in collaboration with the London and Cambridge Economic Service. (London, Royal Institute of International Affairs; New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xvi, 203, \$2.00.) The information gathered here will be found very useful by all students of postwar history, although, for some reason, the study contains very few satisfactory bibliographical references and no systematic bibliography at all. It could also have been strengthened by showing the relationship of the internal politics of the Balkans to the underlying historical and social forces of the region. It is not clear whether Czechoslovakia is regarded as a part of South-eastern Europe or not. It is included in the first part, which describes the postwar developments of the Balkan states, but not in the later part, which is concerned with internal policies and economic problems. J. S. ROUCEK.

*International Security.* By EDUARD BENEŠ, ARTHUR FEILER, and RUSHTON COULBORN. Walter H. C. Laves, Editor. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. xi, 152, \$2.00.) These lectures, given on the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1939, include the following subjects: "The Geneva Protocol", "The Locarno Pact", and "Conclusions on the Problem of Collective Security", by Beneš; "A Farewell to Security: Germany and the World, 1919-39", by Feiler; and "A Farewell to Leadership: Britain and the World, 1919-39", by Coulborn.

*International Law Situations with Solutions and Notes, 1938.* [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. vii, 178, 25 cents.) The latest number of this series has been prepared by Payson Sibley Wild, jr., professor of international law at Harvard University, as successor to George Grafton Wilson, who prepared the thirty-six preceding volumes. The volume for 1938 discusses the following situations: (1) belligerent and neutral rights in regard to aircraft; (2) force short of war, with special reference to blockade and occupation in time of peace; and (3) protection of ships of third states in insurgency and civil strife. WILLARD B. COWLES.

*War Check List: A Working Guide to the Background and Early Months of the War (Chiefly September, 1938, to January 31, 1940).* Compiled by RICHARD H. HEINDEL, assisted by Arthur B. Berthold and Marion G. Miller. Part I, *The Background*; Part II, *Five Months of War*. [War Documentation Service Bulletin No. 4.] (Philadelphia, 1300 Locust Street, War Documentation Service,



1940, pp. iii, 47, iv, 78, each part 60 cents, the two, \$1.00, mimeographed.) The War Documentation Service has issued three other bulletins dealing respectively with the classification of materials relating to the present war, the research and publishing activities of organizations concerned with the war, and a selective list of periodicals and news letters.

*An Atlas-History of the Second Great War.* By J. F. HORRABIN. (New York, Knopf, 1940, pp. ix, 99, \$1.50.)

*Environment and Conflict in Europe.* Eighteen Basic Maps, Text, References, and Index on the Present War. (New York, American Geographical Society, 1939, pp. 26, and accompanying sheet of maps in color, \$1.00.)

*Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle.* By SHOTARO FRANK MIYAMOTO. [University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Volume 11, No. 2.] (Seattle, University of Washington, 1939, pp. vii, 57-129, 75 cents.)

*Essays in Pan-Americanism.* By JOSEPH BYRNE LOCKEY. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939, pp. 174, \$2.00.) Dr. Lockey's interest in Pan Americanism dates back more than two decades and has been best expressed in his *Pan Americanism: Its Beginnings* (New York, 1920). This most recent volume, which extends his interest into the more recent period, contains nine studies of not very closely related subjects which combine to stretch the already elastic expression "Pan Americanism" to an unusual degree. The essays are entitled: "The Meaning of Pan-Americanism", "Diplomatic Futility", "The Pan-Americanism of Blaine", "Blaine and the First Conference", "An Aspect of Isthmian Diplomacy", "Toledo's Florida Intrigues", "Shaler's Pan-American Scheme", "Bolívar after a Century", "Pan-Americanism and Imperialism". Each of these studies has been previously published in essentially its present form. The footnotes, gathered at the back of the book, indicate that most of the essays are based on source accounts, but not all may be considered as original contributions to the field of which they treat. The book, however, brings together in convenient form valuable studies for the student of Pan Americanism, and it appears at a time when attention in this country is turned towards our neighbors to the south and upon our relations with them. A. CURTIS WILGUS.

## ARTICLES

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Arnold J. Toynbee's Philosophy of History [review article]. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

RUSHTON COULBORN. The Individual and the Growth of Civilizations: An Answer to Arnold Toynbee and Henri Bergson. *Phylon*, 1940, nos. 1-3.

B. CROCE. Paralipomeni del libro sulla "Storia" [cont.]. *Critica*, Jan.

KEMP MALONE. Grundtvig's Philosophy of History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June.

W. STULL HOLT. The Idea of Scientific History in America. *Ibid.*

MAX HORKHEIMER. The Social Function of Philosophy. *Stud. Philos. and Social Sci.* (formerly *Zeitsch. f. Sozialforsch.*), VIII, no. 3.

FRANZ L. NEUMANN. Types of Natural Law. *Ibid.*

CHARLES GRANT ROBERTSON. The Value of Historical Studies in Time of War. *History*, Mar.

HENRY W. HYDE, JR. The Genealogist as a Contributor to Historical Research. *National Geneal. Soc. Quar.*, June.

SIMON KUZNETS. Schumpeter's Business Cycles. *Am. Ec. Rev.*, June.

Writings on Irish History, 1938, with Addenda, 1936 and 1937. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar.

H. BOECK. Das Judentum im osteuropäischen Raum: Betrachtungen zu dem gleichnamigen Werk von P. H. Seraphim. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, III, nos. 3-4.

WILFRIED KRALLERT. Geschichte und Methode der Bevölkerungszählungen im Südosten. I. Rumänien. *Ibid.*



- ROBERT WYNESS MILLAR. The Historical Relation of Estoppel by Record to Res Judicata. *Illinois Law Rev.*, May.
- CECIL ROTH. Marranos and Racial Antisemitism: A Study in Parallels. *Jewish Social Stud.*, July.
- E. F. JACOB. The Brethren of the Common Life. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Apr.
- LEONA ROSTENBERG. The Printers of Strassburg and Humanism, from 1501 until the Advent of the Reformation. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, 1940, no. 1.
- ERNST BENZ. Die Reformation und der Osten. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, III, nos. 3-4.
- ROBERT FRIEDMANN. Anabaptism and Pietism. I. The Problem and its Treatment Hitherto by Historians. *Mennonite Quar. Rev.*, Apr.
- ROBERT SIDNEY SMITH. Spanish Antimerchantism of the Seventeenth Century: Alberto Struzzi and Diego José Dormer. *Jour. Pol. Ec.*, June.
- MARJORIE NICOLSON. Kepler, the *Somnium*, and John Donne. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June.
- GUIDO PORZIO. Rivolgimenti sociali e loro riflessi letterarii. *N. Riv. Stor.*, Jan.
- JAMES F. SHEARER. French and Spanish Works printed in Charleston, South Carolina. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, 1940, no. 2.
- ANDRÉ FUGIER. Histoire contemporaine d'Espagne, 1788-1923[1]. *Rev. Hist., Bull. Crit.*, Jan.
- CONYERS READ. The English Elements in Benjamin Franklin. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- E. WILSON LYON. The Franco-American Convention of 1800. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.
- HERBERT J. WOOD. England, China, and the Napoleonic Wars. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
- PHILIP D. JORDAN. An Ohio Surgeon in Paris, 1835-1836. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.
- URIAH ZEVI ENGELMAN. Inter-marriage among Jews in Germany, U. S. S. R., and Switzerland. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Apr.
- SALO W. BARON. Great Britain and Damascus Jewry in 1860-61: An Archival Study. *Ibid.*
- R. STANLEY THOMSON. The Diplomacy of Imperialism: France and Spain in Cochin China, 1858-63. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.
- H. HEIMPEL. Frankreich und das Reich. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, Jan.
- CHITOSHI YANAGA. The First Japanese Embassy to the United States. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
- WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON. The Tripartite Treaty of London. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- W. N. MEDLICOTT. The Gladstone Government and the Cyprus Convention, 1880-85. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- JOHN T. MCCUTCHEON. The Battle of Manila Bay. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June.
- RENZO PECCERINI. L'opera di G. Sorel [cont.]. *N. Riv. Stor.*, Jan.
- FRANK MONAGHAN. The Parade of World's Fairs. *New York Hist.*, July.
- ALFRED H. HAAG. A Quarter Century of Ocean Transportation in the Western Hemisphere. *Bull. Pan Am. Union*, July.
- FELIX HOWLAND. Sea Power and Central Asia. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, June.
- WILLIAM H. DAVIS. The Naval Side of the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939. *Ibid.*
- JOHN GUNTHER. Our Pacific Frontier. *For. Affairs*, July.
- WILLIAM SANDERS. The Pan-American Program for Juridical Unity. *Inter-Am. Quar.*, Apr.
- H. W. D. MAYERS. United States Trade with Latin America in 1939. *Ibid.*
- Id.* United States Trade with Latin America in the First Six Months of the War. *Ibid.*
- A. D. LINDSAY. Democracy Today. *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, Apr.
- C. P. STACEY. The War: Blockade and Counter-Blockade. *Ibid.*
- HANS KOHN. Coalesce or Collide. *Am. Scholar*, Summer.

## DOCUMENTS

- EDWARD ROSEN. The Ramus-Rheticus Correspondence. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, June.
- BEVERLY MCANEAR. An American in London, 1735-1736 [II]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- LEONA ROSTENBERG. Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.

ANCIENT HISTORY <sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

*Greek and Roman Coins and the Study of History.* By J. G. MILNE. (London, Methuen, 1939, pp. 128, plates XVI, 6s.) The author of this little volume is a distinguished numismatist who has set himself the task of indicating the value of coins to historians and the manner in which they supplement written tradition. Dr. Milne has sketched his picture broadly, but he has a fascinating and lucid answer to almost any question the inquiring reader is apt to ask, whether relating to materials, debasement, fabric, dies, countermarks, or standards. A curious fact about Greek coinage is that most of the pieces of high artistic quality come from cities of little commercial standing. The explanation of this is that the cities which did not own supplies of silver and could not therefore determine the price of the metal found that one way of getting their coins into circulation was to make them artistically attractive. At Athens, on the other hand, old types were faithfully copied for the same reason that thalers were struck in the name and with the types of Maria Theresa for more than a century and a half at Vienna and other mints. As for Greek mints, Dr. Milne shows that the output at most Greek cities was so spasmodic that it was not worth while to maintain a regular staff for minting purposes: the needs of currency were met by commissioning local silversmiths to strike coins. The book concludes with a stimulating summary of the importance of coin hoards. Dr. Milne, incidentally, has a lively interest in human nature; for example, in his discussion of types for coins he points out that certain Sicilian cities loved to advertise their local spa or wine. The sixteen beautiful plates will repay study, for each is designed to instruct the reader on some special point. Among the most interesting plates are those which suggest the commercial importance of ancient coinage.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

*The Cults of Aricia.* By A. E. GORDON. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1934, pp. viii, 20, 25 cents.)

*The Cults of Lanuvium.* By A. E. GORDON. (*Ibid.*, 1938, pp. vi, 21-58, 35 cents.)

These two monographs are the first installments of a study of the cults of Latium, which is meant to link Petersen's *The Cults of Campania* and Taylor's *Local Cults in Etruria*. One finds the same general arrangement and the same sober factual manner. This last is perhaps the most important thing that a reviewer can say; the serious student of Roman antiquity may plan to consult these monographs without fear of wasting his time on slight semipopular work of the sort that has become such a vexing problem. The religious life of Aricia and Lanuvium had some very interesting aspects. Aricia had a great temple of Diana and Lanuvium one of Juno Sospita. Gordon discusses the archaeology of the temples, the nature of the two divinities, and the political implications of the history of their cults. It would be interesting to know, if it could be known, the relation of the people of these two little towns to their famous temples. I also wish that Gordon had given us a thorough analysis of what he thinks can be known about the dedicants at the temple of Diana. Aricia was the seat of Sir James Frazer's *rex nemorensis*, who is here factually treated and disposed of, therefore, in one paragraph. At Lanuvium the young girls annually performed

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

the interesting fertility rite of offering food to a local serpent which is mentioned by Propertius (IV, 8, 3-16). It is to be noted that there is practically no trace of Oriental or Egyptian cults. The Roman world was not attracted wholesale to these cults. The evidences of their existence in the city of Rome and the provinces are generally due to native devotees, who traveled widely, especially in trade and the army.

RICHARD M. HAYWOOD.

*Documents illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero.* Collected by M. P. CHARLESWORTH. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. viii, 41, 90 cents.) "The purpose of this pamphlet, which was drawn up originally to illustrate a course of lectures on the reigns of Claudius and Nero, is to gather together under one cover documents which are not easily accessible to the ordinary reader; especially those documents which are personal utterances of the emperor Claudius himself."

*The Common People of Pompeii: A Study of the Graffiti.* By HELEN H. TANZER. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. xii, 113, \$3.00.) In notices scratched on the walls at Pompeii fullers, clothiers, bakers, and artisans recorded their support of candidates for city offices, lovers described the charms of their sweethearts, devotees of the shows inscribed the names of their favorite actors and gladiators, children scrawled the alphabet and experimented with simple forms of secret writing. Dr. Tanzer has selected the most interesting material from the fourth volume of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* and from subsequent excavation reports and has illustrated her discussion with well-chosen reproductions, chiefly from Pompeian paintings. Her little book, though it leads to no new results, gives an interesting picture of the common people and especially of the industrial groups in Pompeii. Some of the author's statements require modification. Falernian wine (p. 37) was not Vesuvian. There was not an "earlier eruption of Vesuvius" (p. 51) before 79 A.D., though there was an earthquake in the year 63. The *Nonae Caprotinae* (p. 63) should be dated on the seventh, not the seventeenth, of July, and the use of the term does not indicate that "the villa belonged to Romans who were spending the summer at Pompeii". One could wish for more discussion of the quotations from Latin poets, for they give insight into the school training which produced the literacy on which Dr. Tanzer comments. The most common quotations are the opening words of the first and second books of the *Aeneid*, and the more frequent occurrence of *Conticuere* (*omnes*) may mean that the second book was more familiar than the first. The complete absence of quotations from Horace seems to show that his poetry had not yet become a part of the school curriculum.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

*La fórmula MIA 'ΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΡΕΙΣ 'ΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ en San Gregorio de Nisa.* By SEVERINO GONZÁLEZ, S. I. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, Gregorian University, 1939, pp. xix, 146.) This monograph is a contribution to the controversial literature on the final statement of the Trinitarian formula. The crux of the question which González raises lies in the kind of unity which Gregory of Nyssa predicates of the Trinity. Of the three kinds distinguished by the great Cappadocian, ἀριθμῶ, εἶθαι, φύσει, only the last does he admit in the divine nature. This ἔνωσις φυσική, González contends, "dado el vocabulario de la teología actual, debe reducirse necesariamente a alguna de las dos anteriores" (p. 20). But this is to reduce Gregory's Platonism to the scholastic terminology of contemporary Catholic theology. What Gregory means by ἔνωσις φυσική is neither numerical nor specific unity, but a *unitas Platonica* which is *sui generis*.

See especially the *De communibus notionibus* (Migne, *P.G.* 45, 180): λέγονται δὲ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι καταχρηστικῶς καὶ οὐ κυρίως. The meaning of this is clear and is confirmed by other passages in the same work and in the *Ad ablativum*. To be sure, González is fully aware of the Platonic bias of Gregory; yet he characterizes Gregory's transfer of the concept of ἕνωσις φυσική from the human to the divine nature as merely a "sencilla comparación" (p. 135). This misses the point of Gregory's *via media* between Sabellianism and Trithemism—the existence of a unity which, while not numerical, is nonetheless ontological. The Greek in the text is sometimes careless. The article is omitted before αὐτός on pages 31 and 76; there are inaccuracies in the use of the accents; and on page 120 for ἀπαθείτης γεννήσεως read ἀπαθεῖ τῆς γεννήσεως.

WILLIAM F. McDONALD.

*Das vorephesinische Symbol der Papstkanzlei.* By WILHELM M. PEITZ, S. J. [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae.] (Rome, S. A. L. E. R. and Gregorian University Press; Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1939, pp. viii, 128, 35 l.) This study continues earlier work by Peitz on the pre-Gregorian origin of parts of the *Liber Diurnus*, the formulary of the early papal chancery, in which he concluded (1918) that while the *Liber Diurnus* was greatly changed in the course of time, its nucleus went back to a period before Gregory the Great. This was opposed to Sickel's contention that a collection of formulas was taken from Gregory's Registers for use in the schools and in practice and that this collection then gradually became the officially valid chancery book. In the present monograph Peitz defends his thesis by studying the history of the formulas of the profession of faith in the *Liber Diurnus*. He concludes that the *Liber Diurnus* is no "schoolbook" but an actually used formulary of the papal chancery which reflects in its internal development an important section of the history of the papacy and that it served as such a formulary as early as the fifth century. More important, for the history of dogma, he tries to show that the *professiones fidei* (formulas 73 and 85) had their origin even before the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon and were used in the papal chancery by about 400. The nucleus of formula 73 developed along with the *Fides Romana*, which Peitz restores in its approximate form of about 400. Thus the *Fides Romana* with its *filioque* originated in Rome and is proof that Rome already had the leadership in deciding questions of faith. If Peitz continues the German tradition of hypercritical scholarship, he at least opens one's eyes to the value of studying the diplomatics of the early papal chancery.

GAINES POST.

#### GENERAL ARTICLES

- ARTHUR UNGNAD. Eine neue Grundlage für die altorientalische Chronologie. *Arch. f. Orientforsch.*, XIII, no. 3.
- ERNST F. WEIDNER. Studien zur Zeitgeschichte Tukulti-Ninurtas I. *Ibid.*
- W. F. ALBRIGHT. The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Israel. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, June.
- ALEXANDER H. KRAPPE. Les Chananéens dans l'ancienne Afrique du Nord et en Espagne. *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, July.
- ISAAC HEINEMANN. The Attitude of the Ancient World toward Judaism. *Rev. Religion*, May.
- H. W. PARKE. A Note on the Delphic Priesthood. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.
- LOUIS GERNET. L'institution des arbitres publics à Athènes. *Rev. Études Grec.*, July.
- ARTHUR PATCH MCKINLAY. The "Indulgent" Dionysius. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- H. D. WESTLAKE. Phalacrus and Timoleon. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.
- CHARLES PICARD. Les enseignements d'un combat dans l'Altis. *Rev. Hist.*, Oct.
- FRIEDRICH OERTEL. Zur Ammonsohnschaft. *Rhein. Museum*, LXXXIX, no. 1.

- GAETANO DE SANCTIS. Gli ultimi messaggi di Alessandro ai Greci. *Riv. Filol.*, LXIX, no. 1.
- W. W. TARN. Demetrias in Sind. *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Apr.
- R. STARK. Ursprung und Wesen der altrömischen Diktatur. *Hermes*, LXXV, no. 2.
- W. BEARE. When did Livius Andronicus come to Rome. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.
- RUSSEL M. GEER. Notes on the Land Law of Tiberius Gracchus. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD. The Career of Aulus Gabinius. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM G. FLETCHER. The Pontic Cities of Pompey the Great. *Ibid.*
- PRESCOTT W. TOWNSEND. The Oil Tribute of Africa at the Time of Julius Caesar. *Class. Philol.*, July.
- H. J. LEON. *Morituri Te Salutamus*. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- ALLAN S. HOEY. Official Policy toward Oriental Cults in the Roman Army. *Ibid.*
- TOM B. JONES. The Death of Nuerian and the Accession of Diocletian. *Class. Philol.*, July.
- E. SANDER. *Praebitio, Protostasia, Erbzwang*. *Hermes*, LXXV, no. 2.
- GLANVILLE DOWNEY. The Olympic Games of Antioch in the Fourth Century A. D. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- M. L. W. LAISTNER. Some Reflections on Later Historical Writing in the Fifth Century. *Class. Philol.*, July.
- DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN. A Reconsideration of Roman Topography in the *Historia Augusta*. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- LIONEL CASSON. Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt. *Ibid.*

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

- A. J. B. WACE. Mycenae, 1939. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LIX, no. 2.
- U. ZANOTTI-BIANCO. Archaeological Discoveries in Sicily and Magna Graecia. *Ibid.*
- T. LESLIE SHEAR. The Campaign of 1939. *Hesperia*, July.
- OSCAR BRONEER. Excavations on the Slopes of the Acropolis, 1939. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr.
- M. ROBERTSON. Archaeology in Greece, 1938-39. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LIX, no. 2.
- SOCRATES M. ELEOPOULOS. The Ramp of Asklepios at Epidaurus. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr.
- G. W. ELDERKIN. Bronze Statuettes of Zeus Keraunios. *Ibid.*
- GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Recent Acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE E. MYLONAS. Greek Vases in the Collection of Washington University in St. Louis. *Ibid.*

## EPIGRAPHICAL, PAPYROLOGICAL, AND LITERARY SOURCES

- MAGGIE RUTTEN. La cour du dieu Mardouk. *Rev. Hist. Religion*, Sept.
- GEORGE RICKER BERRY. The Date of Deuteronomy. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, June.
- H. J. ROSE. Some Herodotean Rationalisms. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.
- C. BRADFORD WELLES. Fragments of Herodotus and Appian from Dura. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- R. FLACELIÈRE, JEANNE ROBERT, LOUIS ROBERT. Bulletin épigraphique. *Rev. Études Grec.*, July.
- M. N. TOD. The Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1937-8. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LIX, no. 2.
- MILTON GIFFLER. The Fighting Hellenotamiai. *Rhein. Museum*, LXXXIX, no. 1.
- ELEANOR WESTON. New Datings for Some Attic Honorary Decrees. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, July.
- EUGENE SCHWEIGERT. The Athenian Secretary Phaidros of Cholleidai. *Ibid.*
- Id.* Greek Inscriptions. *Hesperia*, July.
- M. GIFFLER. Artemisios and Gerastios in the Spartan Calendar. *Hermes*, LXXV, no. 2.
- W. KOLBE. Die vierjährigen Soterien der Aitolier. *Ibid.*, no. 1.
- M. GELZER. Die hellenische *Προκατασκευή* im zweiten Buche des Polybios. *Ibid.*
- FREDERIC M. WOOD, JR. The Tradition of Flamininus' "Selfish Ambition" in Polybios and Later Historians. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.*, LXX.
- J. E. POWELL. The Sources of Plutarch's *Alexander*. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LIX, no. 2.
- R. E. SMITH. Plutarch's Biographical Sources in the Roman Lives. *Class. Quar.*, Apr.

- A. STEIN. Zu dem kaiserlichen Ernennungsschreiben in P. Berol. 8334. *Aegyptus*, Jan.  
 W. SCHUBART. Zur Constitutio Antoniniana. *Ibid.*  
 M. SPRENGLING. From Kartir to Shahpuhr I. *Am. Jour. Sem. Lang.*, July.  
 ORSOLINA MONTEVECCHI. Dai papiri inediti della raccolta milanese. *Aegyptus*, Jan.  
 GIORGIO ZALATEO, SERGIO CAMMELLI, LAURA GIABBANI, ANNA BARBERA, IRMA TONDI.  
 Papiri fiorentini inediti. *Ibid.*

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

*Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada.*

Bulletin No. 15. By S. HARRISON THOMSON. (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1940, pp. 85, 50 cents.) With the present issue this useful bulletin is expanded to include the activities of scholars interested in the Renaissance. Another important innovation is the section given over to the surveys of American contributions to selected fields of medieval and renaissance scholarship. Dorothy M. Robathan here writes on "Medieval Latin Literature, 1933-1939", Charles A. Knudson on "Medieval French Literature and Language", Henry L. Savage on "Chaucer: The Life", and Robert A. Pratt on "Chaucer: The Works". The remaining sections correspond to those found in earlier issues of the bulletin.

*The Book of Lecan, Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Leacain: Reprint of Introduction and Indexes.* By KATHLEEN MULCHRONE. [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, published for the Commission by the Stationery Office of Éire, 1939, pp. lxiii, 6s.) The autonomous government of Ireland ("Free State" and "Éire") has deserved well of students of history. The Irish Manuscripts Commission which it has established and maintained has done excellent work in the publication of historical texts. One of its noteworthy undertakings has been the resumption of publication in facsimile of those huge manuscript tomes, *bibliothecae*, in which medieval Irish scholars gathered together so much of what had been preserved of old Irish lore and literature. Lebar na hUidre, the Book of Leinster, Rawlinson B.502, the Yellow Book of Lecan, Leabhar Breac, and the Book of Ballymote had been so published by the Royal Irish Academy and the Oxford University Press (1870-1909). The two most important of those remaining, the Book of Lecan and the Book of Uí Maine, are being produced in collotype by the commission. The necessarily high price of such works excludes them from the personal possession of large numbers of scholars. We are here given, however, a separate reprint of the introductory matter to the Book of Lecan. This includes a history and description of the manuscript, a minute table of contents in which, in connection with the several texts, are listed all editions of date too late to be included in R. I. Best's great *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Literature* (1913), a conspectus of the foliation of the manuscript, and indexes of authors mentioned, first lines, genealogies, and subjects not included in the preceding. Thus any student is enabled to have at his hand an exhaustive guide to this valuable codex.

JAMES F. KENNEY.

*Bedaе Venerabilis Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio.* Edited by M. L. W. LAISTNER. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939, pp. xlv, 176, \$3.50.) Most students of history today would probably agree with the note in Gross's *Sources and Literature of English History* which says that Bede was "one of the most eminent historians of medieval Europe" and that "the most important of his works is the *Historia Ecclesiastica*". But the Middle Ages thought of Bede as a theologian, an exegete whose interpretation of the Scrip-

tures possessed an authority next to that of the four Doctors of the Church. So long-lived was Bede's influence and so wide that it is strange as well as unfortunate that most of his writings are still unavailable in critical texts. Toward remedying this state of affairs Professor Laistner gives us in this slender volume what is probably a definitive text of two of Bede's commentaries. With the text comes a valuable introduction, the larger part of which is a discussion of the manuscripts on which the text is based. One reason for choosing the commentaries on Acts rather than some other of his exegetical works is that Acts engaged Bede's attention at two different periods—Laistner dates the *Expositio* at "soon after 709" and the *Retractatio* at between 725 and 731; another is that in them Bede laid special stress on textual criticism. The appendix ("Nomina regionum atque locorum de Actibus Apostolorum") and the four indexes (Scriptorum, Nominum rerumque notabilium, Allegoricae interpretationis, Graecitatis) add to the value of the work. Since within the limits of a brief note there is no room for even mention of several points that came to mind in the study of this book, it must suffice to say that those to whom its contents are of interest will find it a thorough and scholarly piece of work.

A. H. SWEET.

*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Deutsche Kaiserzeit.* By WILHELM WATTENBACH. Edited by ROBERT HOLTZMANN. Volume I, Part II. (Berlin, Ebering, 1939, pp. 164-357, 4.80 M.) The second *Heft* of the new Holtzmann version of Wattenbach proceeds as did the first, which was reviewed in this journal (XLV, 201). The Ottonian period (900-1050) is concluded with the narration of historiographical activities in Upper Lorraine by Paul Kirn, Swabia with its border regions, Alsace, Rhaetia, and Augsburg by Georgine Tangl, Bavaria by Otto Meyer, Italy by Walther Holtzmann, and Franconia and France by the editor. Worth noting is the evidence, internal and external, which Dr. Kirn presents for the identification of Adalbert, missionary in Russia and archbishop of Magdeburg, with the continuator of Regino of Prüm's chronicle (pp. 166-70); likewise the new material offered in the section on the catalogues of the libraries and the inventories of properties and revenues of the bishoprics and monasteries of Upper Lorraine. Georgine Tangl summarizes the arguments in rehabilitation of Hermann the Lame's *Weltchronik* (pp. 234-37). FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

*Narratio de itinere navali peregrinorum Hierosolymam tendentium et Silviam capientium, A.D. 1189.* Edited from the unique manuscript in the Library of the Turin Academy of Sciences by CHARLES WENDELL DAVID. (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1939, pp. 591-678, iv, 75 cents.) While the older historians of the Crusades limited their attention to the actual wars in the East from 1095 to 1291, the modern concept of the movement extends to include all the conflict between Christianity and Islam throughout the Middle Ages. In this broadened view of the Crusades the campaigns in the Iberian peninsula have an important place, and the *reconquista* is now recognized as a significant aspect of the crusading effort. To this special subject Professor David has devoted his attention for several years, the present volume being the second important result of his studies. In 1936 he published in the *Records of Civilization* the text, with notes and translation, of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, an account of the capture of Lisbon in 1147 by warriors on the Second Crusade; this is now followed by the publication of a similar narrative of the capture of Silves in the Algarve in 1189 by a group of northern participants in the Third Crusade. This eyewitness account by one of the German crusaders begins with the departure of the crusaders from Bremen and ends with their arrival at



Marseilles. Professor David has edited his text with scrupulous care; while he has made certain corrections in spellings, he has kept such emendations down to a minimum, and all deviations from the manuscript are clearly indicated. The notes to the text afford a commentary on the medieval history and geography of Portugal, and a signal contribution in this field is the nineteen page appendix devoted to the history of Silves under the Moors. The introduction and the other appendixes give criticism of the manuscript, the author, and the other sources for the expedition. An elaborate index, two maps, and a facsimile page complete the slender volume.

JOHN L. LA MONTE.

*Three Old French Chronicles of the Crusades: The History of the Holy War; The History of them that took Constantinople; The Chronicle of Reims.* Translated into English by EDWARD NOBLE STONE. (Seattle, University of Washington, 1939, pp. vii, 377, \$3.50.) The three chronicles included in this translation are best known by the names of their authors—Ambroise, who deals with the Third Crusade, Robert of Clari, with the Fourth, and the Anonymous Minstrel of Rheims, chiefly valuable for the period of Louis IX. The aim of the translator has been “to present to the modern English reader a version that will give him, in some degree, the same set of impressions that an educated Frenchman . . . receives from the original”. This is accomplished, in part, by “the free use of archaisms” and the reproduction of “many quaint words and phrases”. The translator has achieved much of his aim in presenting a smoothly flowing narrative, quaintly charming and delightful to read. As a contribution to the study of history, however, the work has serious shortcomings. The introductions or “forewords”, averaging about a page for each of the three chronicles, are too brief to give an adequate impression of either their historical or literary significance. The annotations are far too few or too brief to clarify the many baffling allusions contained in the text. The works of G. W. Cox (1875), Natalis de Wailly (1876), and Archer and Kingsford (1895) are hardly the best available authorities on the Crusades today. It is especially to be regretted that the translator did not avail himself of the many services which the Mediaeval Academy of America has now for many years been offering to all workers in this field, literary, artistic, philosophical, and historical. Had he done so, he could have obtained more authoritative sources of reference. A competently annotated translation of Robert of Clari by Edgar Holmes McNeal appeared in 1936, and a rhymed, well-annotated translation of Ambroise by Hubert and LaMonte is now in press in the Records of Civilization series, published by the Columbia University Press. Students of history will undoubtedly prefer these two works whatever the literary merit of the present translation may be. Thus two thirds of this book becomes practically valueless for them.

A. C. KREY.

*The Sandford Cartulary.* Volume I. Edited by AGNES M. LEYS, Fellow and Tutor of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. (Oxford, Oxfordshire Record Society, Record Series, Vol. XIX, 1938, pp. viii, 177.) Considerable interest attaches to each of the surviving documents of the Templars in England. This cartulary of their preceptory of Sandford in Oxfordshire is the only cartulary of their order in England. It was written in the late thirteenth century but contains transcriptions of many twelfth century charters. Some few of these have already been published, but this volume contains many which have not appeared in print before. Miss Leys plans to publish the complete cartulary in two volumes. Volume I, under review here, contains a brief description of the manuscript, a facsimile of a typical folio, and the text of 246 deeds (fols. 1-64). The total number of deeds is 478 (115 folios). The second volume will include the remaining char-

ters together with an introduction "dealing with the administration and history of the preceptory of Sandford and its estates" and also a map and index. Until this volume appears, a critical review is impossible. The text has been carefully prepared, and brief notes indicate other published versions and identifications of places and persons. Anyone who edits such a document does a service for other scholars, and the second volume with its analytical introduction will be awaited with interest.

HELEN BALDWIN.

*Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire du droit municipal en France des origines à la Révolution: Chartes de franchises du Lauragais.* By Lieutenant JEAN RAMIÈRE DE FORTANIER. [Société d'histoire du droit.] (Paris, Sirey, 1939, pp. 792, 140 fr.)

The history of French municipal institutions is at present in a very unsatisfactory state. The general surveys are based on inadequate evidence, and the local histories are too often parochial and uncritical. Source material is abundant but so widely scattered that it is hard to control. The present volume illustrates the difficulties of research in this field and at the same time shows how they may be overcome. The Lauragais was a small district with no large-scale commerce or industry. Yet in this small rural region there were, at one time or another, over two hundred *consulats*. Local archives are not especially well preserved, yet the editor found so many documents that he could not print them all *in extenso*, even when he ruthlessly excluded those which described only economic activities. Many other districts, especially in southern France, possess an equally large amount of material, and no general history of French towns can be written until it has been digested. The task has been well done for the Lauragais. The excellent introduction and the carefully selected documents give a clear picture of the general pattern of municipal life in this region. Most communities gained *consulats* without much difficulty in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The Capetians seem to have been definitely favorable to the movement, and the local lords were not strongly against it. At first the larger towns had jurisdiction over outlying villages, but gradually these became independent. In theory the lord selected the consuls from a group nominated by the town; in practice he often accepted a list designated by the assembly. The consuls usually had complete criminal jurisdiction but very limited rights in civil cases. The town ordinances which have survived resemble each other closely and conform, in general, to the customs of Toulouse.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

*Some Facts concerning the Invention of Printing, the Five-hundredth Anniversary of which will be celebrated Internationally in 1940.* By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. Second edition. (Chicago, Chicago Club of Printing House Craftsmen, 1939, pp. 42, 50 cents.)

#### GENERAL ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

SIDNEY R. PACKARD. The Teacher and the Textbook: A Challenge from the Mediaeval Field. *Speculum*, Apr.

GUSTAVE SAMARAN. La "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes" depuis un siècle. *Bibl. École Chartes*, Dec.

ALFONS MARIA SCHNEIDER. Das Architektursystem der Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel. *Oriens Christianus*, XXXVI, no. 1.

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. Hungarian Middle Ages. *Hungarian Quar.*, Winter, 1939/40.

A. BRACKMANN. Kaiser Otto III. und die staatliche Umgestaltung Polens und Ungarns. *Abhand. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft., Philos.-Hist. Kl.*, 1939, no. 1.

OVE MOBERG. Slaget vid Svolder eller slaget i Öresund? Lokaliseringen av Olav Trygvassons sista strid. *Hist. Tids.* [Nor.], 1940, no. 2.

OTTO GEORG VON SOMSON. The Bamberg Rider. *Rev. Religion*, Mar.

- RAMONA BRESSIF. Was Chaucer at the Siege of Paris? *Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Apr.  
 ARTURO ALINARI, ed. La porta e il ponte alla Carraia di Firenze. *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1939,  
 no. 4.  
 ANGELO CARUSO, ed. Il controllo dei conti nel regno di Sicilia durante il periodo svevo.  
*Arch. Stor. Prov. Napoletane*, XXV, 1939.  
 C. A. VIANELLO, ed. Testimonianze venete su Milano e la Lombardia degli anni 1492-  
 1495. *Arch. Stor. Lombardo*, Dec.

ECCLESIASTICAL

- GERHARD KLINGE. Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen  
 Philosophie an den Islam. *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, LVIII, nos. 3-4.  
 A. J. MACDONALD. *Episcopi Vagantes* in Church History. *Church Quar. Rev.*, Mar.  
 G. BARDY. Formules liturgiques grecques à Rome au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Rech. Sci. Religieuses*, Jan.  
 FRANÇOIS HIMLY. Les plus anciennes chartes et les origines de l'Abbaye de Wissembourg.  
*Bibl. École Chartes*, Dec.  
 KARL GLÖCKNER. Die Anfänge des Klosters Weissenburg. *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrb.*,  
 XVIII, 1939.  
 P. GRIERSON. Abbot Fulco and the Date of the "Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium". *Eng.*  
*Hist. Rev.*, Apr.  
 M. JUGIE. Origine de la controverse sur l'addition du *Filioque* au Symbole. *Rev. Sci. Philos.*  
*et Théol.*, Oct., 1939.  
 J. DE GHELLINCK. Le développement du dogme d'après Walfrid Strabon à propos du  
 baptême des enfants. *Rech. Sci. Religieuses*, Oct., 1939.  
 THOMAS P. OAKLEY. The Penitentials as Sources for Mediaeval History. *Speculum*, Apr.  
 THOMAS MICHELS. La date du couronnement de Charles-le-Chauve (9 Sept. 869) et le  
 culte liturgique de S. Gorgon à Metz. *Rev. Bénédict.*, Dec.  
 A. BRACKMANN. Tribur [1076]. *Abhand. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft.*, Philos.-Hist. Kl.,  
 1939, no. 9.  
 HANS-WALTER KLEWITZ. Das Ende des Reformpapsttums. *Deut. Arch. f. Gesch. Mittelalt.*,  
 III, no. 2.  
 BERNHARD SCHMEIDLER. Abt Arnold von Kloster Berge und Reichskloster Nienburg  
 (1119-1166) und die Nienburg-Magdeburgische Geschichtschreibung des 12. Jahr-  
 hunderts. *Sachsen und Anhalt*, XV.  
 HANS HIRSCH. Die clässisch-burgundischen Zisterzienserprivilegien Friedrichs I. *Elsass-  
 Lothringisches Jahrb.*, XVIII, 1939.  
 GERTRUDE M. ENGBRING. Saint Hildegard, Twelfth Century Physician. *Bull. Hist. Medi-  
 cine*, June.  
 ANTOINE DODAINE. Nouvelles sources de l'histoire doctrinale du néomanichéisme au moyen  
 âge. *Rev. Sci. Philos. et Théol.*, Oct., 1939.  
 RAY C. PETRY. Medieval Eschatology and St. Francis of Assisi. *Church Hist.*, Mar.  
 DECIMA L. DOUIE. Adam "De Marisco", an English Franciscan. *Durham Univ. Jour.*, Mar.  
 PAOLO CHERUBELLI. Florilegio francescano tratto da alcuni codici della biblioteca nazionale  
 centrale di Firenze (sec. XIV, XV, XVI). *Arch. Francis. Hist.*, XXXII, nos. 1-4.  
 E. F. JACOB. The Brethren of the Common Life. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Apr.  
 F. S. SCHMITT, ed. Cinq recensions de l'*Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi* de Saint Anselme  
 de Cantorbéry. *Rev. Bénédict.*, Dec.  
 ANDRÉ WILMART, ed. Deux lettres concernant Raoul le Verd, l'ami de Saint Bruno. *Ibid.*  
 MARIO ESPOSITO, ed. Sur quelques écrits concernant les hérésies et les hérétiques aux XII<sup>e</sup>  
 et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. *Rev. Hist. Ecclés.*, Jan.  
 HUGOLINUS LIPPENS, ed. De litteris confraternitatis apud Fratres Minores ab ordinis initio  
 ad annum usque 1517. *Arch. Francis. Hist.*, XXXII, nos. 1-4.  
 FRANÇOIS-MARIE HENQUINET, ed. Clair de Florence, O. F. M., canoniste et pénitientier  
 pontifical vers le milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Ibid.*  
 MICHAEL BIHL, ed. Fraticelli cuiusdam Decalogus Evangelicae paupertatis an. 1340-1342  
 conscriptus. *Ibid.*  
 P. LEFÈVRE, ed. Maître Renier de Bruxelles ou Renier de Wale, recteur de l'école capitulaire  
 bruxelloise de 1416 à 1469. *Rev. Belge Philol. et Hist.*, Dec.

HENRY HARE CARTER, ed. Palaeographical Edition of an Old Portuguese Version of the Rule of Saint Bernard (Codex Alcobacensis 200). *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, June.

## LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL

- F. PRINGSHEIM. The Character of Justinian's Legislation. *Law Quar. Rev.*, Apr.  
 J. DHONDT. Élection et hérédité sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens. *Rev. Belge Philol. et Hist.*, Dec.  
 E. M. MEYERS. Le conflit entre l'équité et la loi chez les premiers glossateurs. *Tijdschr. voor Rechtsgesch.*, XVII, no. 2.  
 R. BESNIER. L'introduction de l'instance à l'époque des coutumiers normands. *Ibid.*  
 W. H. HUMPHREYS. A Register of Writs in Roll Form. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, June.  
 CHARLES E. ODEGAARD. *Legalis Homo. Speculum*, Apr.  
 GEORGE L. HASKINS. The King's High Court of Parliament Holden at Westminster. *History*, Mar.  
*Id.* Counsel and Consent in the Thirteenth Century. *Thought*, June.  
 J. GESSLER. Mulier suspensa: À délit égal peine différente? *Rev. Belge Philol. et Hist.*, Dec.  
 TRISTANO CODIGNOLA. Ricerche storico-giuridiche sulla Massa Trabaria nel XIII secolo. *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1939, no. 4.  
 EINAR CARLSSON. Till diskussionen om 1319 års konungaval. *Hist. Tids.* [Sw.], 1940, no. 1.  
 MARY M. TAYLOR. Parliamentary Elections in Cambridgeshire, 1332-8. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, June.  
 MARGUERITE BOULET. L'organisation du travail de bureau chez les praticiens au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bibl. École Chartes*, Dec.  
 EVELYN S. PROCTER. The Use and Custody of the Secret Seal (*sello de la poridad*) in Castille from 1252 to 1369. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.  
 GRAHAM POLLARD. Mediaeval Loan Chests at Cambridge. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, Feb.  
 P. KEHR, ed. Die Kanzlei Arnolfs. *Abhand. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft., Philos.-Hist. Kl.*, 1939, no. 4.  
 DIETRICH VON GLADISS, ed. Ein übersehenes Diplom Heinrichs III. *Deut. Arch. f. Gesch. Mittelalt.*, III, no. 2.  
 E. KITTEL, H. BEUMANN, C. ERDMANN, eds. Das Briefsiegel Heinrichs von Glind (1180-1194). *Ibid.*  
 HELEN RICHARDSON, ed. A Twelfth Century Anglo-Norman Charter. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Apr.  
 ARMANDO SAPORI, ed. Il personale delle compagnie mercantili del medio evo. *Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1939, no. 4.  
 GEORGE SAYLES, ed. Medieval Judges as Legal Consultants. *Law Quar. Rev.*, Apr.  
 GERTRUD SCHUBART-FIKENTSCHER, ed. Neue Fälle zum Brünner Recht. *Deut. Arch. f. Gesch. Mittelalt.*, III, no. 2.  
 EUGENIO LAZZARESCHI, ed. Relazioni di Cosimo de' Medici con la signoria di Lucca. *Rinascita*, Apr.

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

- LUCIEN FEBVRE. La société féodale. *An. Hist. Soc.*, Jan.  
 LYNN WHITE, JR. Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages. *Speculum*, Apr.  
 HEINZ A. KNORR. Die Dornburg an der Elbe: Ausgrabung einer mittelalterlichen Burg. *Sachsen und Anhalt*, XV.  
 C. PETIT-DUTAILLIS. L'évolution de l'idée de commune au moyen âge: Vieillesse et mort des communes françaises. *Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus*, Nov.  
 BENJAMIN BROMBERG. The Financial and Administrative Importance of the Knights Hospitallers to the English Crown. *Ec. Hist.*, Feb.  
 AUSTIN L. POOLE. Live Stock Prices in the Twelfth Century. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.  
 ROBERT ANCHEL. The Early History of the Jewish Quarters in Paris. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Jan.  
 IRVING A. AGUS. The Development of the Money Clause in the Ashkenazic Ketubah. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Jan.  
 W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON. The Castles of Dudley and Ashby-de-la-Zouch. *Archaeol. Jour.*, XCVI, no. 1.

- P. GRAS. Le registre paroissial de Givry (1334-1357) et la peste noire en Bourgogne. *Bibl. École Chartes*, Dec.
- OTTO STOLZ. Zur Geschichte des Bergbaues im Elsass im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrb.*, XVIII, 1939.
- ALWYN A. RUDDOCK. The Flanders Galleys. *History*, Mar.
- FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER, ed. The Business Records of an Early Genoese Notary, 1190-1192. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, June.

## INTELLECTUAL

- A. SOUTER. Cassiodorus' Library at Vivarium: Some Additions. *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, Jan.
- M. RAZI-UD-DIN SIDDIQUI. The Contribution of Muslims to Scientific Thought. *Islamic Culture*, Jan.
- PAUL J. ALEXANDER. Secular Biography at Byzantium. *Speculum*, Apr.
- LOUIS HALPHEN. Un pédagogue. *Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus*, Nov.
- BERNARD SCHMEIDLER. Adam von Bremen und das Chronicon breve Bremense. *Deut. Arch. f. Gesch. Mittelalt.*, III, no. 2.
- FRIEDRICH PANZER. Gahmuret: Quellenstudien zu Wolframs Parzival. *Sitz. Heidelberg. Akad. d. Wissenschaft., Philos.-Hist. Kl.*, 1939/40, no. 1.
- HUGO BUCHTHAL. The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art. *Syria*, XX, no. 2.
- WILLIAM R. O'CONNOR. The Natural Desire for God in St. Thomas. *New Scholasticism*, July.
- ÉMILE-A. VAN MOË. Les études de Me Jean de Roncourt à la fin du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Bibl. École Chartes*, Dec.
- WALTER B. VEAZIE. Chaucer's Text-Book of Astronomy: Johannes de Sacrobosco. *Univ. Colorado Stud., Humanities*, June.
- ALOYS RUPPEL. Gutenberg in Strassburg: Seine Strassburger Druckversuche. *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrb.*, XVIII, 1939.
- EMIL SECKEL, ed. Die Summa Vindocinensis. *Abhand. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft., Philos.-Hist. Kl.*, 1939, no. 3.
- EUGENIO GARIN, ed. Una fonte ermetica poco nota: Contributi alla storia del pensiero umanistico. *Rinascita*, Apr.
- KENNETH MCKENZIE, ed. Antonio Pucci on Old Age. *Speculum*, Apr.
- C. BRUNEL, ed. Une traduction provençale des "Dits des Philosophes" de Guillaume de Tignonville. *Bibl. École Chartes*, Dec.
- WILLIAM HAMMER, ed. Balthazar Rasinus and his Praise of Studies at the University of Pavia. *Stud. Philol.*, Apr.
- EDWARD A. H. FUCHS, ed. Das Meerwunder. *Mod. Philol.*, Feb.
- F. P. PICKERING, ed. Notes on Late Medieval German Tales in Praise of *Docta Ignorantia*. *Bull. John Rylands Library*, Apr.

## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

## BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

- Writings on British History, 1936*. Compiled by ALEXANDER TAYLOR MILNE. [Royal Historical Society.] (London, Jonathan Cape, 1940, pp. 389, 12s. 6d.)
- Milton in Chancery: New Chapters in the Lives of the Poet and his Father*. By J. MILTON FRENCH. (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1939, pp. x, 428, \$4.00.) This work illuminates the dark tangle of English legal procedure of the seventeenth century and shows that John Milton, as a lover of England, made study of her laws and courts before he himself became a litigant. God spake, to Milton's thinking, in the "oracles of equity". Unfortunately it was with chancery that the poet was destined to become familiar.

About 1646 he entered the courts, and tenacity in seeking redress for financial grievance prevented emergence until the Restoration. Then it became a point of wisdom for "Oliver's Secretary" to forbear to press his claims. Through a welter of bills, petitions, and amended petitions the author searched and researched to classify actions of Pyes, Powells, Copes, and lesser people. One great name summons their return. In certificates and recognizances of statute staples Mr. French found this name signed to a cancellation of Richard Powell's debt—one of the few signatures of John Milton extant from the period of his blindness. It is because of his immortal halo that debtors, scribes, and creditors are gilded with gleams of present interest. Though books of decrees and orders are incomplete and the scholar was tested not only by search for documents that he presents in his appendix, and though the sought for, but unfound, prevented him from completing the narratives of the past, he proves that Milton, in matters of business, had excellent understanding and that knowledge of the law enhanced the rich background for his writings as defender of the Commonwealth.

DORA NEILL RAYMOND.

*The Economic Geography of Barbados: A Study of the Relationships between Environmental Variations and Economic Development.* By OTIS P. STARKEY. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. xii, 228, \$3.00.) This intriguing study rests upon the premise that Barbadian contributions to civilization have been wholly disproportionate to the island's size and population and undertakes to provide a satisfactory explanation. A survey of physiographic conditions and socio-economic developments leads the author to the conclusion that the moderate adversity attending variations in the colony's environment has proved exceptionally stimulating and that racial stock, population density, and the presence of outstanding leaders have been of secondary importance. Thus, from his viewpoint, droughts, pestilence, hurricanes, and similar "acts of God" have not been catastrophic but have, rather, been the basic factors in stimulating Barbadian progress. To prove his point he seeks to show that in seventeen cases between 1647 and 1931 depressions arising out of a variety of causes led to the adoption of progressive measures which brought speedy recovery. While interesting, well written, ably documented, and equipped with more than twenty charts, the book fails to convince. The reviewer questions the exceptional nature of the contribution of Barbados to human welfare, which is in no way demonstrated, and believes that Mr. Starkey has merely given an illustration of man's capacity, in the tropics as elsewhere, to overcome adversity.

LOWELL RAGATZ.

*Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century: After Cromwell.* By EDWARD MACLYSAGHT. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. vii, 463, \$5.00.) Mr. MacLysaght makes the following statement regarding his purpose in writing this book: "Within the limits of scientific historical treatment, my object in this book is to present a picture of everyday life in Ireland . . . to arrive at the truth and to tell it in a readable way." Appraising his work in the light of his avowed intention, the present reviewer feels that he has succeeded in writing a social history at once graphic and scholarly which supplies in its chapters a needed supplement to the political studies of Ireland so numerous today. Beginning his study with a considered analysis of Irish character, he leads us logically to other phases of social study—the morals of the age, the gentry and their dependents, sports and recreations, Dublin and town life, communications, and the century-old religious problem. His numerous appended sections are also of interest, especially his edition of selected letters by John Dunton hitherto

unpublished. In a word, Mr. MacLysaght gives us a book not only of value to the student of Irish history but of interest to readers of more general tastes. He draws selectively and with balance from a wealth of primary sources and presents his findings in a style that is pithy, pictorial, and sincere.

EDWARD M. HINTON.

*Letters of John Pinney, 1679-1699.* Edited with an Introduction by G. F. NUTTALL and with a Foreword by Lady Pinney. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xxii, 136, \$2.25.) In welcome contrast to the stereotyped biographies of godly nonconforming ministers, such as are preserved by Samuel Clarke or Edmund Calamy, these papers show how a minister unable to conform in 1662 actually set about building up his fortunes. A very shrewd businessman, John Pinney of Bettiscombe, Dorset, was able to combine with his secret worship of God an open and successful worship of Mammon. Aided by his son and daughters, over whom he tried to exercise a patriarch's authority, he carried on the trade of lacemaking, bought land, and laid the foundations of the prosperous Dorset family, the Pinneys of Racedown. As one reads these pages, John Pinney does not seem at all a martyr; he was too busy and too aggressive. His letters throw light on the social and economic history of the time. As for politics, the Monmouth Rebellion touched this family very closely. Finally, these letters are invaluable for an understanding of nonconformity in the late seventeenth century.

ETHYN WILLIAMS KIRBY.

*The Sacheverell Affair.* By ABBIE TURNER SCUDI. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 170, \$2.25.) Few events in English history show more clearly the interrelation of religion and politics than the subject of this little monograph. Within the scope of 125 pages, however, it was manifestly impossible for Dr. Scudi to do the subject justice. Although both her bibliography and footnotes reveal the enormous amount of research she has done, the treatment leaves largely unexplained the reasons for the great pothole over Dr. Sacheverell's impeachment for his sermon at St. Paul's in November, 1709. Dr. Scudi gives a clear and satisfying account of the early career of the popular parson and suggests that he has been underrated both as to his scholarship and his popularity as a preacher prior to his trial. She inclines to the belief that he prepared most of the brief in his own defense at the trial. She likewise attributes his increasing popularity during and after the trial largely to his own straightforward attitude during that ordeal—especially to his insistence that he favored the Revolution. The account of the proceedings at the trial and the analysis of the speeches for and against him are well done, although this part might have been expanded and tied up somewhat more closely with the political and religious philosophy of the time. To carry out these suggestions, however, would certainly have necessitated doubling or tripling the length of the book. The reviewer believes that Dr. Scudi underestimates the influence of a very virile press and exaggerates, in comparison, that of the parish priest from his pulpit (p. 59). There is some confusion as to the sequence of events from February, 1707/8, to November, 1708. The Duke of Kent was dismissed on April 14, 1710, rather than May 22 (p. 134). The proof-reading in places was not carefully done, although no serious slips have been made.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

*Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876.* By DAVID HARRIS. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. vii, 437, \$3.00.) This book had to be written, says the author, because there was "no entirely satisfactory account of the subject".



It is true that everything available heretofore has been either manifestly partisan or fragmentary. Professor Harris has made a thorough study of the British press and the documents and archives of Great Britain, Austria, and the United States in order to describe the Bulgarian insurrection of 1876, its brutal suppression by the Turks, and the attitude toward these "horrors" taken by the British press, people, and government. He has made a real contribution in setting forth not only what the public knew and thought but also what the journalists and the members of the British government and diplomatic service knew and how they worked. He has presented both process and result, both opinion and policy, and thus has been able effectively, sometimes ironically, to expose the shams which politicians and even journalists occasionally perpetrated. Disraeli's government does not appear in a favorable light. This is a conclusion of the reviewer and not of the author. Indeed, if there is any criticism to be made of this unusually competent study of a problem in public opinion, it is that the author has been too modest in drawing conclusions. He has carefully analyzed details and buttressed his points with quotations but has avoided generalities. No doubt this is to his scholarly credit, but who is better prepared than he to assess the ultimate significance of the Bulgarian atrocity agitation for British politics and foreign policy? Who better could venture an opinion as to the fundamental lines of conflict? It was clearly not Liberal against Conservative. Was it Little Englander against Imperialist? Or humanitarian against *Realpolitiker*? Perhaps, on the basis of this solid monograph, Mr. Harris will answer some of these questions, especially the first, in his second volume on the Eastern crisis of 1875-78.

D. E. LEE.

*Geschichte Irlands: Ein Kampf um die völkische Freiheit.* By RUDOLF BRINGMANN. (Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1939. Pp. 195. 6.80 M.) A really accurate title for this book would have been *Ireland since 1921*, for the author is concerned principally with the Treaty of 1921, the policies of the Cosgrave ministry, and the sweeping changes inaugurated by De Valera. In fact, the contribution of this book is the analysis of the latter's reforms in the light of his political philosophy. To create a state wholly representative of and responsive to the welfare of the people—politically, economically, and culturally—necessitated, first, the severing of all external bonds and restrictions, and secondly, the creation of a self-sustaining autarchy within. Through such measures as the rejection of the oath, repudiation of annuity payments, and constitutional redefinition, absolute independence has been practically won for the Free State. Only the Ulster question remains, but it seems likely that as soon as the stranglehold of the industrialists and the estate owners can be broken, the great majority will support reunion. An improvement in economic conditions and a high order of social legislation have put an end to a century-old emigration process. This book is an able account of a revolution that has passed almost unnoticed in a preoccupied world. The only criticism is that the author in his zeal to praise the achievements of De Valera has failed to do justice to the skillful statesmanship of Cosgrave during the first precarious years of the Free State's existence.

JOHN POMFRET.

#### ARTICLES

- HANS KOHN. The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.  
 LOUIS B. WRIGHT. The Significance of Religious Writings in the English Renaissance. *Ibid.*  
 W. K. JORDAN. Sectarian Thought and its Relation to the Development of Religious Toleration, 1640-1660 [cont.]. *Huntington Library Quar.*, July.

- CHRISTOPHER HILL. The Agrarian Legislation of the Interregnum. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- GODFREY DAVIES and EDITH L. KLOTZ. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 in the House of Lords. *Huntington Library Quar.*, July.
- WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN. Defoe's *Review* as a Historical Source [review article]. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- ISABEL FOUCHÉ-DELBOSC. Women of New France. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.
- R. M. SAUNDERS. Courcur de Bois: A Definition. *Ibid.*
- J. S. PLASKETT. The Astronomy of the Explorers. *Brit. Col. Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE. England's First Atlantic Mail Line [Pt. II]. *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr.
- E. H. ASKARI. The Bengal Revolution of 1757 and Raja Ramnarain. *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, Dec.
- THERESA M. O'CONNOR. The Embargo on the Export of Irish Provisions, 1776-79. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar.
- G. RUTHERFORD. Admiral de Ternay and an "English Convoy". *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr.
- R. B. McDOWELL. The Personnel of the Dublin Society of United Irishmen, 1791-94, with a List of Persons known to have been Admitted Members. *Irish Hist. Stud.*, Mar.
- SIR W. S. HOLDSWORTH. The Movement for Reforms in the Law (1793-1832). *Law Quar. Rev.*, Apr.
- C. W. CRAWLEY. England and the Sicilian Constitution of 1812. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE. The Trade Cycle in Britain before 1850. *Oxford Ec. Papers*, Feb.
- W. KAYE LAMB. "Empress to the Orient" [Pt. II]. *Brit. Col. Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- RAM NIHORE CHATURVEDI. The Educational Activities and Progress before the Mutiny. *Jour. Ind. Hist.*, Dec.
- G. S. WHITE. The Judges of the Supreme Court at Madras (1801-1862). *Ibid.*
- KATHLEEN FITZPATRICK. Mr. Gladstone and the Governor: The Recall of Sir John Eardley-Wilmot from Van Diemen's Land, 1846. *Hist. Stud. Australia and New Zealand*, Apr.
- RONALD V. SIREs. Sir Henry Barkly and the Labor Problem in Jamaica, 1853-1856. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.
- HERBERT R. BALLS. John Langton and the Canadian Audit Office. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.
- H. A. INNIS. Recent Books on Arctic Exploration and the Canadian Northland. *Ibid.*
- SIDNEY H. ZEBEL. Fair Trade: An English Reaction to the Breakdown of the Cobden Treaty System. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- NORMAN D. PALMER. Irish Absenteeism in the Eighteen-Seventies. *Ibid.*, Sept.
- P. E. CORBETT. The Status of the British Commonwealth in International Law. *Univ. Toronto Law Jour.*, Lent.
- H. ROWAN-ROBINSON. Bakenlaagte. *Army Quar.*, Apr.
- F. A. KNOX. Canadian War Finance and the Balance of Payments, 1914-18. *Can. Jour. Ec. and Pol. Sci.*, May.
- ROBERT WYNESS MILLAR. A Septennium of English Civil Procedure, 1932-1939. *Washington Univ. Law Quar.*, June.
- D. G. KARVE. The New Indian Constitution: Principles and Prospects. *Univ. Toronto Law Jour.*, Lent.
- M. RAMASWAMY. The Indian States in the Indian Federation: A Juristic View. *Ibid.*
- G. H. PITT. The South Australian Archives. *Hist. Stud. Australia and New Zealand*, Apr.
- D. O. W. HALL. New Zealand Centennial History. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

- LOUIS-ANDRÉ VIGNERAS. Letters of an Acadian Trader, 1674-1676. *New Eng. Quar.*, Mar.
- A Quaker Critic of an Engagement in the 'Forty Five. *Army Quar.*, July.
- An Unpublished Sermon of John Wesley. *London Quar. and Holborn Rev.*, Apr.
- L. F. FITZHARDINGE. A Convict's Letter from New South Wales, 1792. *Hist. Stud. Australia and New Zealand*, Apr.
- J. RICHARDSON. An Early Settler on the Ottawa. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, June.
- WILLARD E. IRELAND. Helmcken's Diary of the Confederation Negotiations, 1870. *Brit. Col. Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- ARTHUR J. MARDER. British Naval Policy in 1878. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

## FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

*France Overseas through the Old Régime: A Study of European Expansion.* By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY. [Institute of Social Sciences, University of California.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xvii, 393, \$5.00.) A brief survey in English of early French colonial development has long been needed. This need is met in a more or less satisfactory fashion by Professor Priestley's new book, which covers the subject to 1815. French colonialism since that date he has already treated in his *France Overseas: A study of Modern Imperialism* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV, 156). After a brief and not entirely pertinent survey of French history up to about 1500 the author tells the tale of French explorations and colonial attempts from the voyages of Cartier to the days of Richelieu. Then, organizing his material partly chronologically and partly by the regions involved—Canada, the West Indies, Guiana, Madagascar, West Africa, India, the Mascarene Islands, and Louisiana—he sketches the rise and fall of the first French colonial empire, concluding with chapters on the colonies during the Revolution and under Napoleon. On the whole, the book is badly organized, and some readers will be confused by the leaps in time and place while others will be repelled by needless repetitions. The author's style is crabbed and full of gallicisms like "peuplement" for peopling and "engage" for indentured servant, and his narrative is for the most part narrowly factual. Nonetheless, despite such adverse comments, the great usefulness of the book must be recognized. The author has been over almost all the available printed material on the subject. His full and careful footnotes form an excellent working bibliography on nearly every point that he touches. His judgment is sound and his interpretations either valid or defensible. The work will have little appeal for the general reader, but the serious student who wants a sound introduction to a complex subject or a scholarly basis for further research will be grateful to Professor Priestley.

CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE.

*Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts: Records, Colonial and 'Saintongeais'.* Collected and edited by WILLIAM INGLIS MORSE. (London, Quaritch, 1939, pp. xiv, 118, £1 10s.) This expensive and beautifully made book is an elaborate casket for three new fragments of source material connected with Champlain's principal business associate in Acadia and New France from 1603 to 1612. They do not add appreciably to the little that is known about him. Dr. Morse, who has produced four other compilations of this character, is emphatic in his condemnation of what passes for history and historians. In this instance he has secured the assistance of many researchers, translators, photographers, etc., to bring together in a rather repetitive way the available information (or guidance to it) about a shadowy figure of the past.

J. B. BREBNER.

*Diderot avant Vincennes.* By JEAN POMMIER. [Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences.] (Paris, Boivin, 1939, pp. 117, 18 fr.) Professor Pommier's little volume on Diderot's career before his imprisonment in 1749 is a scholarly, well-written study of the mental evolution of the *philosophe*. After giving a brief sketch of Diderot's life, the author devotes most of his pages to an analysis of his early writings. The view taken is that Diderot gained a sort of literary notoriety with the appearance of his *Pensées philosophiques* and *Promenade du sceptique*. The nature of his attacks on religion was the characteristically eighteenth century blend of ridicule and denunciation. What was unusual was that Diderot oscillated between deism and atheism, critical of the limitations of

the former and fearful of the possible moral consequences of the latter. He compromised by becoming an "experimental" materialist with a decided leaning toward atheism. His atheistic pamphlet, *Lettre sur les aveugles*, aroused the censorship, with the result that Diderot landed in prison. Like Voltaire's exile in England, Diderot's imprisonment in Vincennes was, in a sense, an important event in intellectual history. To Vincennes came D'Alembert to consult with Diderot concerning articles for the Encyclopedia. Thither also came Rousseau, and the outcome of his memorable visit was his *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts*. Professor Pommier's book appears to be a collection of his lectures at the Sorbonne. Where but in France is it possible for a university professor to publish his lectures on Diderot in a popular, paper covered edition!

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

*Lady-in-Waiting: The Romance of Lafayette and Aglaé de Hunolstein*. By Louis GOTTSCHALK. [Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. xi, 137, \$2.25). In two previous volumes—*Lafayette comes to America* and *Lafayette joins the American Army*—Professor Gottschalk has traced the career of his hero through the war of the American Revolution. In the present volume he abandons the forward march (only for the moment, we hope) to tell the story of Lafayette's relations with the Comtesse de Hunolstein. Lafayette first met Aglaé de Hunolstein, lady-in-waiting to the Duchesse de Chartres and wife of a young cavalry officer, before he set out for America. In fact, his unrequited love for this beautiful lady had something to do with his decision to leave France. The step was well taken. Success in the war led to success in the boudoir. Aglaé became his mistress, albeit reluctantly. Gossip, however, forced the pair apart. Lafayette, deploring his weakness, finally renounced the lady—and sought a new mistress. Aglaé, penitent, retired to live a model life in a convent. As usual, Mr. Gottschalk has produced a very satisfying piece of work. He does not permit his affection for Lafayette to obstruct the telling of the truth about the "hero of two worlds", a practice which, if generally followed by biographers, might sometimes excuse the use of the word "definitive" in comments on their books. As regards the end of the Lafayette-Hunolstein romance, the reviewer confesses himself less convinced than the author seems to be that this affair drove Aglaé into seclusion. Was it the sole cause of her penitence?

CARL L. LOKKE.

*Lamartine: L'homme et l'œuvre*. By HENRI GUILLEMIN, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. (Paris, Boivin, 1940, pp. 165, 15 fr.)

*The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France, with Special Reference to the Ideas and Activities of Charles Maurras*. By WILLIAM CURT BUTHMAN. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 355, \$4.00.) In his charming and thoughtful *Autobiography* R. G. Collingwood remarks that "you cannot find out what a man means by simply studying his spoken or written statements, even though he has spoken or written with perfect command of language and perfectly truthful intention. In order to find out his meaning you must also know what the question was (a question in his own mind, and presumed by him to be in yours) to which the thing he has said or written was meant as an answer" (p. 31). Mr. Buthman's approach to the ideas of Charles Maurras follows to a certain degree this method. Excluding all criticisms of the logical structure of Integral Nationalism and any interpretation of historical events contrary to the nationalist gospel, the author tries to re-create from the writings of the nationalists themselves the intellectual

atmosphere out of which Integral Nationalism arose. The first half of the book is devoted to the origins and aims of Déroulède's *revanche* patriotism, Drumont's anti-Semitism, Taine's critical methodology, Barrès's ancestor worship, and an analysis of the young Maurras's aesthetic and literary theories, which, with their emphasis on classical order, antiromanticism, and the Latin heritage, conditioned the political thought of the leader of the *Action française*. The second half deals with the arguments by which Maurras justified his doctrines of decentralization, royalism, racial determinism, and antiparlamentarianism, and the activities of the *Action française* to 1914. The author should be commended for his method, though he fails to bring to life either Maurras or Integral Nationalism. This deficiency might be attributed partially to the subject matter, for an intellectual phenomenon like Maurras is difficult to re-create realistically, but above all to the author's failure to present thoroughly the republican doctrine and interpretation of events which constitute an essential part of the background to the questions for which Maurras tried to find the answers.

R. A. WINNACKER.

*The French Yellow Book: Diplomatic Documents, 1938-1939.* (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940, pp. 463, \$2.50.) "Papers relative to the events and negotiations which preceded the opening of hostilities between Germany on the one hand, and Poland, Great Britain and France on the other." Published by authority of the French government.

*Guillaume le Taciturne, 1533-1584.* By ROGER AVERMAETE. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1939, pp. 254, 32 fr.) Although this book has not been provided with an index, a bibliography, or footnotes, it has some value for the historical profession in that the author has presented an excellent analysis of the political and religious views of William the Silent together with an interesting description of the struggle between Philip II of Spain and the rebels in the Netherlands. He points out that in recent years a considerable number of Dutch writers have erroneously depicted the Prince of Orange as the father of a plan to unite all the Dutch-speaking provinces in the Netherlands into one state, leaving the others to their own fate. William, however, was not interested in the question of language or race but rather in setting peoples free from political and religious oppression. The author shows that William was not profoundly religious, stating that he was "indifferent to religion". This is correct, for the prince was wholly immersed in the game of politics and did not scruple to obtain a divorce in order to marry another woman. It was the "demon of intolerance that demolished the work of William" (p. 230). Unfortunately, very few of his contemporaries were able to combine deep religious fervor with complete toleration. The author is also right in emphasizing the religious factor in the revolt of the Dutch.

A. HYMA.

*Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie.* By PIETER VAN DAM. Volume II, Part 3. Edited by Dr. F. W. STAPEL. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën.] (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1939, pp. xiv, 643.) After several years' delay due to the depression and other causes—the preceding section of this work appeared in 1932—this additional volume of Pieter Van Dam's account of the Dutch East India Company and the regions in which it operated has at last been brought out, thanks to funds ultimately made available by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Arts, and Sciences. The present volume contains a somewhat haphazard but highly interesting collection of narratives dealing with the activities of the company in the seventeenth century in many parts of the world: Suratte,

Arabia and Abyssinia, Persia, Java, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. The publication of these volumes makes generally available a treasure house of information of all sorts concerning these regions, with all of which the company had dealings of greater or less magnitude. There are descriptions of the different countries and their inhabitants, sketches of the local history, detailed recitals of the activities of the company and its agents, and a mass of material on the economic and commercial facts and potentialities. At the end of each geographical section a number of contemporary documents are reprinted which frequently contribute a wealth of local color. Dr. Stapel, who undertook the tedious work of editing the collection, has greatly enhanced its value by the addition of useful notes, including references to the other literature on the various subjects and persons treated and a glossary of the unfamiliar terms. In its entirety this series makes an invaluable addition to our knowledge of the Dutch East India Company and its times.

RUPERT EMERSON.

*Documents concernant le recrutement de la haute magistrature dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens au dix-huitième siècle.* By J. LEFÈVRE. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1939, pp. 169, 20 fr.) Eight high courts of justice or superior tribunals constituted the royal magistrature of the Austrian Netherlands. Each province retained practically unchanged the higher judicial administration of the former Spanish regime. To describe the process of selecting and appointing the *presidents* of these eight tribunals is the object of this study. Summaries or abstracts of 162 documents constitute the bulk of the text. These summaries are drawn from documents selected from a large and little exploited mass of archives; most numerous represented here are letters between the sovereign and the governor general and reports of group opinions on candidacies for the presidential office: letters and reports presenting estimates of competence and availability. In theory vacancies were filled at the discretion of the sovereign; in practice co-option played a considerable role. Candidacy was traditionally open to all; actually, only those applied who had a reasonable chance of being favored. Qualifications were examined in a manner somewhat resembling that employed for the selection of candidates for the episcopacy. Commonly, candidates received collective endorsement from members of the court in which the presidency was vacant. Frequently the vacancy was filled from the membership of the court itself, and in almost every case the appointee was a native of the province. Hereditary transmission was not practiced; there was no caste. As a rule the governor general supported the candidate co-opted, although occasionally recommending another man. Sometimes the sovereign favored the governor's candidate, and sometimes otherwise. Recommendations passed from the governor general to Vienna, where the Supreme Council for the Pays Bas, assisted by two Belgian referendaries, advised the sovereign on the appointments. Qualities most commonly favored in candidates were not necessarily professional or juridical but rather those of a political nature which gave evidence that an appointee could deal with situations, preserve harmony and order, and, in particular, maintain the rights of the sovereign.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

*Blik in het verleden: Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche blikindustrie in hare opkomst van gildeambacht tot grootbedrijf.* By J. C. WESTERMANN. (Amsterdam, N. V. De Vereenigde Blikfabrieken, 1939, pp. 398.) The title of this book contains a pun which would be confusing if it were not clarified by the subtitle. *Blik in het verleden* means "a glimpse into the past". *Blik* (in German



*Blech*), however, also means "tinplate". The book deals with the past of the tinplate industry in the Netherlands and its development from handicraft to large-scale enterprise. The occasion for the publication of this volume was the fiftieth anniversary of the N. V. De Vereenigde Blikfabrieken, a corporation which, in the course of half a century, has become the largest Dutch producer of tin cans and other tinware. Unlike many books of this kind, the work was entrusted to an economic historian, who has done a good job and has produced a valuable contribution to business history. The author knows how to handle his subject, how to make use of business records, and how to draw a well-balanced picture. In his discussion he skillfully tries to evaluate and to connect all the factors, from technical improvements to leadership and management, which played a part in the development of the Dutch tinplate industry. Dr. Westermann starts with the medieval lampmakers and describes the different stages which the tinplate industry passed through. Skipping the putting-out system, it jumped from the independent handicraft to the central workshop stage, but not until about 1850. The popularity of tinware caused the central workshop, in turn, to disappear before the factory using steam or gas power. The movement toward concentration, however, received its major impetus when, by 1900, the development of the canning, cocoa, biscuit, and other industries created a growing demand for tin cans and boxes for packing purposes. The result was increased standardization of product, the adoption of mass production methods, the introduction of automatic machinery, the transformation of the existing firms into corporations, and the triumph of large-scale enterprise.

RAYMOND DE ROOVER.

#### ARTICLES

- LOUIS MADELIN. L'histoire. *Rev. Paris*, Apr.  
 MARC BLOCH. Toponymie et peuplement. *An. Hist. Soc.*, Jan.  
*Id.* Les corporations de métier, origines, filiations. *Ibid.*  
 L. FEBVRE. Genèse des idées de Diderot. *Ibid.*  
 E.-G. LÉONARD. Les Protestants français du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Ibid.*  
 J. BOUCHARY. Les compagnies financières à Paris à la fin du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle. *An. Hist. Rér. Fr.*, Mar.  
 J. BASCON. Les paysans du Béarn et plus particulièrement de la Sénéchaussée d'Oloron, en 1789. *Ibid.*, Jan.  
 ARMANDA SAITTA. Sismondi e la "Littérature du Midi". *N. Riv. Stor.*, Nov.  
 MARC BLOCH. Regards sur des paysanneries de crise. *An. Hist. Soc.*, Jan.  
 O. DE SMEDT. De keizerlijke verordeningen van 1537 en 1539 op de obligaties en wisselbrieven. *Ibid.*  
 A. P. VAN SCHILFGARDE. De missie van Dr. Gerard Voeth als gezant van den Graaf van den Bergh naar den rijksdag te Regensburg (1576). *Bijdr. voor Vad. Gesch.*, Apr.  
 K. HEERINGA. Onderzoekingen naar de geschiedenis van ons land voor het interregnum. *Ibid.*  
 Z. W. SNELLER. De landmeter N. S. Cruquius en zijn plan tot doorgraving van den Hoek van Holland anno 1731. *Ibid.*  
 J. KUYPERS. V. A. C. Le Plat—een Jozefist onder de Fransche overheersching. *Ned. Historiebl.*, 1940, no. 1.  
 J. R. THORBECKE. Verhandeling over den invloed der machines op het samenstel der maatschappelijke en burgerlijke betrekkingen. *Bijdr. voor Vad. Gesch.*, Apr.  
 FR. LEYDEN. De jachttochten van den Stadhouder-Koning Willem III op de Veluwe. *Ibid.*  
 JAN O. M. BROEK. The Economic Development of the Outer Provinces of the Netherlands Indies. *Geograph. Rev.*, Apr.



## DOCUMENTS

- J. DE STURLER. Documents diplomatiques et administratifs relatifs aux différends commerciaux et maritimes survenus entre les Pays-Bas et la France de 1599 à 1607. *Bull. Commission Royale Hist.*, CIV, nos. 3-4.
- J. LEFÈVRE. Documents relatifs aux nominations des gouverneurs provinciaux dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens [1778]. *Ibid.*
- MARCEL VANHAMME. Le mémoire de Goswin de Fierlant pour servir à un plan d'éducation pour les enfants de soldats. *Ibid.*
- F. VÉZINET. Quelques inédites sur les États-Généraux de 1789. *An. Hist. Rév. Fr.*, Jan.
- P. E. SCHAZMAN. La Révolution de 1793 à Lyon vue par un témoin oculaire Jean-Salomon Fazy. *Ibid.*, Mar.

## NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

*Stattholder Carl Mørners Brev til Carl Johan, 1816-1818*. Edited by SOFIE AUBERT LINDBÆK and REIDAR OMANG. [Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.] (Oslo, Jacob Dybwad, 1938, pp. 365.) This collection of letters from Norway by Stattholder Mørner to Carl Johan, crown prince and king, during the early years of the union of the two northern kingdoms, is almost a model of what documentary editing should be. Chronological arrangement and publication of the original French version of the reports is supplemented by careful Norwegian abstracts preceding each letter and by brief explanatory footnotes on persons and incidents. A few cross references to *Karl Johans Brev till Riksståthållaren Mörner 1816-1818* (Stockholm, 1935) aid in correct interpretation, but ideally the two volumes must be used together. (It is an interesting example of nationalism that the one is published in Swedish, the other in Norwegian.) The letters illustrate nicely the close watch that Carl Johan kept over Norwegian financial matters, even the most petty. Mørner tried to direct the individual benevolences of the ruler into gifts to needy charitable institutions, stating his appeals in terms of farsighted statecraft (see, e.g., pp. 15 f., 42 f.). The stattholder's regard for Norwegian sensibilities and his policy of leniency show themselves repeatedly and from the first make it necessary for him to apologize and explain to the distant and hypersuspicious prince. Carl Johan fears every criticism in the press of the monarchy and the constitution and wishes strict regulatory laws; Mørner feels that unjust criticisms will find their answer and punishment in the rightmindedness and good will of the citizenry. He fears making martyrs or giving opportunity in court actions for still more violent expressions (see, e.g., p. 221). Not least of the services of this publication is the insight it gives into the training in statecraft of Mørner's secretary, August von Hartmansdorff. Most of all it evidences the rising national self-consciousness of Norway, including already the difficulties of merchants lacking direct influence in problems of foreign trade (p. 87).

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT.

*L'Europe, le Danemark, et le Slesvig du Nord: Actes et lettres provenant d'archives étrangères pour servir à l'histoire de la politique extérieure du Danemark après la paix de Vienne, 1864-1879*. Edited by AAGE FRIIS and POVL BAGGE. Volume I. *Du 30 octobre, 1864, au 31 décembre, 1869*. (Copenhagen, Levin & Munksgaard, 1939, pp. x, 648, 20 kr.)

*Den Danske Regering og Nordslesvigs Genforening med Danmark: En Historisk Fremstilling*. By AAGE FRIIS. Volume II, *Frugtesløse Indirekte Forhandlinger indtil den Fransk-Tyske Krig, April, 1868-Maj, 1870*. (*Ibid.*, pp. 363, 9 kr.)

The story of Denmark's long endeavor after 1864 to recover a portion of Slesvig has engaged much of Professor Friis's attention in the last two decades. His studies rest upon two broad categories of sources—one Danish and the other foreign. His intention is to make both groups available in printed form, and in this resolution he has made considerable progress. Of his projected five volumes of Danish sources, *Det Nordslesvigske spørgsmaal, 1864-1879*, only one remains to be issued (the preceding four have been reviewed in this journal, XXXI, 320; XXXIX, 371; XLV, 222). But the relevant materials in foreign archives have begun to appear only with the volume listed first above. In the course of his studies Professor Friis has had access to Austrian, Swedish, French, Russian, and English archives but, conspicuously enough, not to German or to Prussian. A number of French and German documents did not need to be included here because they are available in the comprehensive postwar diplomatic collections of these two countries. The German documents have so far omitted some important materials on one or two significant aspects of the North Slesvig issue, as will be evident in the two volumes that are to follow in this series by Friis and Bagge. Friis set about to utilize both the Danish and foreign sources in a broadly conceived exposition, publishing the first volume in 1921 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 320) and the second, listed above, in 1939. There are to be two more. Having the current scene in mind, readers may find interesting the accounts of efforts made by German authorities from time to time, in conformity with Bismarck's desires, to whittle down the obligations incurred in the Treaty of Prague concerning a plebescite in North Slesvig or to twist things in Germany's favor.

## ARTICLES

- ANDREAS HOLMSEN. Nye metoder innen en særskilt gren av norsk historieforskning. *Hist. Tids.* (Nor.), 1940, no. 1.  
 ARNOLD RÆSTAD. Finnmarks politiske historie. *Samtiden*, 1940, no. 3.  
 OVE MOBERG. Slaget vid Svolder eller Slaget i Öresund? Lokaliseringen av Olav Tryggvasons sista strid. *Hist. Tids.* (Nor.), 1940, no. 2.  
 EINAR CARLSSON. Till diskussionen om 1319 års konungaval. *Hist. Tids.* (Sw.), 1940, no. 1.  
 KARL-ERIK WIKHOLM. Rasmus Ludvigssons krönika om Gustaf I. *Ibid.*  
 DANIEL ALMQVIST. Om konungsdomarna på Stockholms rådhus 1592-1595. *Ibid.*  
 ELI F. HECKSCHER. Ett brev av Conradt von Falkenberch om japansk koppar. *Ibid.*  
 A. FRIIS. La politique extérieure du Danemark et les aspirations de la famille royale danoise après la guerre de 1864. *Rev. Hist.*, Oct., 1939.  
 STIG JÄGERSKIÖLD. Den svenska frivilligrörelsen [volunteers for Finland]. *Svensk Tids.*, 1940, no. 3.  
 GUNNAR HECKSCHER. 1918 och 1940 [Swedish-Finnish relations]. *Ibid.*  
 S. SHEPARD JONES. War comes to Scandinavia. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, June.

## GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

*Grossdeutsch oder Kleindeutsch? Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zu Karl Biedermanns "Erinnerungen aus der Paulskirche"*. By Dr. EUGEN F. SCHNEIDER. (Berlin, Emil Ebering, 1939, pp. 226, 9 M.) Karl Biedermann, perhaps best known today as the author of the monumental *Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, was a leading member of the Preliminary Parliament and the National Assembly, both of which met in the Paulskirche at Frankfurt in 1848. Of the latter he was at first secretary and later vice-president. When the members of this assembly grouped themselves into two major parties, one demand-

ing a unified Germany under Prussian rule with Austria excluded (kleindeutsch) and the other a Greater Germany which was to include the German provinces of Austria (grossdeutsch), Biedermann became an active leader of the former party and was chosen a member of the deputation which offered the German crown to Frederick William IV of Prussia. No sooner did the representatives disperse in May, 1849, than Biedermann sat down to write his reminiscences of both assemblies, publishing them in the same year under the title *Erinnerungen aus der Paulskirche*. This account, which has been used widely as a first-hand source, Dr. Schneider subjects to a critical examination in the present volume. The conclusion reached is that Biedermann's account is a defense of the Kleindeutsch party rather than an unbiased picture by an eyewitness. Conversely, Schneider would show that the sentiment for a Greater Germany was stronger in 1848 than has hitherto been believed. There is much to be said for his thesis, but his enthusiasm occasionally prompts him to make unfounded assertions.

ROBERT ERGANG.

*Hitler's Germany: The Nazi Background to War.* By KARL LOEWENSTEIN. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xv, 176, \$1.25.) The title of this book is a little misleading. The author treats mainly the subject of government, the institutional structure and the ideological setting. He has used all the sources available in this country, particularly the statute books, and has attempted to be accurate and objective. He has written a very competent and useful survey.

*Deutschland und der Korridor.* Edited by FRIEDRICH HEISS. (Berlin, Volk und Reich, 1939, pp. 311.) This composite work by the group connected with the magazine *Volk und Reich* is a completely revised edition of a volume of the same title that appeared in 1932. If the reader is interested in a volume written "with genuine political passion, with scientific thoroughness, and with the firm will to create an effective publicistic weapon in the struggle for a definitive and enduring solution" (Introduction), he will find that the text, maps, tables, charts, and photographs satisfy his curiosity.

#### ARTICLES

- BERTHOLD SCHULZE. Weg und Plan des historischen Atlases der Provinz Brandenburg. *Forsch. z. Brandenburg. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, LII, no. 2.
- SIGFRID METTE. Militärschriftsteller, Kriegshistoriker und die "Dreifaltigkeit des Krieges". *Ibid.*, no. 1.
- ERICH SEEBERG. Der Pfarrer: Blick auf Geschichte und Aufgabe eines Berufs. *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, LVIII, nos. 3-4.
- ERNST BENZ. Hans von Ungnad und die Reformation unter den Südslaven. *Ibid.*
- PAUL DEDIC. Besitz und Beschaffung evangelischen Schrifttums in Steiermark und Kärnten in der Zeit des Kryptoprottestantismus. *Ibid.*
- OTTO SCHEEL. Der Volksgedanke bei Luther. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXI, no. 3.
- GÜNTHER FRANZ. Die Entstehung der "Zwölf Artikel" der deutschen Bauernschaft. *Arch. f. Reformationsgesch.*, XXXVI, no. 3.
- LUDWIG BÖER. Der Apanagestreit der Markgrafen F. Heinrich und Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg-Schwedt. *Forsch. z. Brandenburg. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, LII, no. 1.
- CONRAD BORNHAK. Die Entstehung der preussischen Ministerien. *Ibid.*
- DIETRICH KAUSCHE. Zur Geschichte der brandenburgisch-preussischen Statthalter. *Ibid.*
- DANIEL HALÉVY. Leibniz et l'Europe: Histoire d'une méditation perdue 1667-1716. *Rev. Deux Mondes*, May 15.
- OTTO F. RAUM, J. KÜNDIGER. Die Hintergründe der Pfälzer Auswanderung im Jahre 1709. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, III, nos. 3-4.
- J. C. EASTON. Charles Theodore of Bavaria and Count Rumford. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June.
- A. GILLIES. Herder's Approach to the Philosophy of History. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXXV, no. 2.

- Romanticism: A Symposium. I, Germany, by JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL. *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, LV, no. 1.
- A. ROBINET DE CLÉRY. Goethe et la Révolution française. *Rév. Fr.*, 1939, no. 2.
- EBERHARD KESSEL. Clausewitz über den Gedanken eines Ländertausches zur Verbindung der Ost- und West-Masse der Preussischen Monarchie nach den Befreiungskriegen. *Forsch. z. Brandenburg. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, LII, no. 2.
- KARL FRIEDRICH BRANDES. Hannover in der Politik der Grossmächte 1801-1807 [I.] *Ibid.*
- FRIEDRICH KAINZ. Grillparzers Stellung im Oesterreichischen Sprachen- und Nationalitätenkampf. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXI, no. 3.
- HANS-JOACHIM HÄÜSSLER. Küstenschutz und deutsche Flotte 1859-64. *Forsch. z. Brandenburg. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, LII, no. 2.
- WILHELM TREUE. Wollte König Wilhelm I. 1862 Zurücktreten? *Ibid.*
- R. W. SETON-WATSON. The Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich of 1867. *Slavonic Year-Book*, Vol. XIX.
- PAUL SATTLER. Bismarcks Entschluss zum Kulturkampf. *Forsch. z. Brandenburg. u. Preuss. Gesch.*, LII, no. 1.
- WOLFGANG WINDELBAND. Der Höhepunkt von Bismarcks Werben um Frankreich. *Deut. Rundschau*, Apr.
- MARGARETA A. FAISSLER. Austria-Hungary and the Disruption of the Balkan League. *Slavonic Year-Book*, Vol. XIX.
- PETER LANGEFELDT. Das Schrifttum über Schleswig-Holstein 1919-39. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, III, nos. 3-4.
- HENRI-SIMON BLOCH. Carl Menger: The Founder of the Austrian School. *Jour. Pol. Ec.*, XLVIII, no. 3.
- HERBERT KNIESCHE. Aussendeutsche Wirtschaftskunde. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, III, nos. 3-4.
- JOSEPH SCHMITHÜSEN. Wesensverschiedenheiten im Bilde der Kulturlandschaft an der wallonisch-deutschen Volksgrenze. *Ibid.*
- MAX HEIN. Das neuere Schrifttum zur Siedlungsgeschichte Ost- und Westpreussens. *Ibid.*
- EGON LENDL. Siedlungsgeographische Probleme aus dem donauschwäbischen Lebensraum. *Ibid.*
- HERBERT WEINELT. Das Werden der ostmitteleuropäischen Kulturlandschaft Freudenthal. *Ibid.*
- ALFRED CSALLNER. Die volksbiologische Forschung unter den Siebenbürger Sachsen [concl.]. *Ibid.*
- ELISABETH LIPPERT. Volkstumserweichung im Kleinkindalter. *Ibid.*
- ALFRED VON WEGENER. The Origins of this War: A German View. *For. Affairs*, July.
- RENÉ LIWCHEN. Niveau de vie des ouvriers allemands en 1927 et en 1937. *Rev. Éc. Pol.*, LIV, no. 1.
- CRANE BRINTON. The National Socialists' Use of Nietzsche. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Apr.
- G. R. CRONE. German Supplies of Raw Materials and Food. *Geog. Jour.*, XCVI, no. 1.
- MAXINE Y. SWEEZY. German Corporate Profits: 1926-1938. *Quar. Jour. Ec.*, LIV, no. 3.
- WILLIAM TOTH. Highlights of the Hungarian Reformation. *Church Hist.*, IX, no. 2.
- LÁZLÓ TÓTH. The Hungarian Gentry. *Hung. Quar.*, VI, no. 2.
- CASPAR ERNYEI. The Spirit of Transylvania. *Ibid.*
- NEVILLE MASTERMAN. Count Nicholas Zrinyi. *Ibid.*
- VIRGIL BIERBAUER. Count Széchenyi and Budapest. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

- ERNST BIZER. Die Wittenberger Konkordie in Oberdeutschland und der Schweiz: Unbekannte Aktenstücke aus der Vermittlertätigkeit Martin Butzers. *Arch. f. Reformationsgesch.*, XXXVI, no. 3.
- SAMUEL BERNSTEIN. Marx and Engels in Paris, 1848: Supplementary Documents. *Science and Society*, IV, no. 2.
- HENRY MILLER MADDEN. The Diary of John Paget, 1849. *Slavonic Year-Book*, Vol. XIX.

## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

*La vita di Santorre di Santarosa.* By ADOLFO COLOMBO. Volume I, 1783-1807. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. viii, 285, 25 l.) Based largely on valuable new material in the Santarosa archives and various public and private archives, this is the first volume of what promises to be the fundamental biography of one of the most important and attractive figures of the Risorgimento.

*Documenti del Risorgimento negli Archivi Trentini.* Volume I. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. xii, 379, 25 l.) This is a calendar of documents in public and private archives and libraries of the Province of Trent which illustrate the *italianità* of its population. The calendar is a work of collaboration by volunteers under uniform rules of cataloguing. In this volume are 1484 entries from one private and five public collections. One of the collections, by exception, is that in the Museum of the Risorgimento at Milan. A second volume is announced.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

*Politica estera italiana: Anteguerra e guerra, 1882-1917.* By LEO WOLLEMBORG. Presentazione di Gioacchino Volpe. (Rome, Edizioni Roma, 1938, pp. viii, 358, 18 l.) This book covers somewhat less than its title would indicate. The first three chapters survey briefly the field of European diplomacy from 1882 to 1914, emphasizing the defensive character of the Triple Alliance in Italian eyes. An attempt to reconcile this alliance with the *rapprochement* with the Entente, which the author makes (pp. 36 ff.), must inevitably be strained. A chapter following this preliminary survey and introducing the main body of the work analyzes the position of Italy as the result of the outbreak of war and the factors which led her to join the Allies in 1915—in “the last war of her *Risorgimento* . . . her first as a world power”. These last two motifs dominated the negotiation of the Treaty of London of April, 1915. The first found expression in the clear and specific clauses referring to Austria-Hungary, the second in the ambiguous provisions covering Asia Minor and colonies. A double thread runs through the second part of the book, a detailed analysis of the diplomatic situation to 1917 based on recent researches and the use of Russian documents which have become available in late years. The “equitable” and “proportionate” compensations, outlined in 1915, clarified with reservations in 1917, rested on the concept of equilibrium. The Italians endeavored to interpret “proportionate” to mean equal, the Allies, to mean acquisitions that would preserve the relative pre-existing balance. There, clearly, were the makings of differences of opinion, and the balance in the ensuing tug of war was bound to fluctuate with the vicissitudes of military operations and the power relation of the contestants: Italy was still seeking to establish her position as a great power. Although written from an Italian point of view, this study is essentially free from bias; it hints at a sequel which would consider the effects of the new forces which the year 1917 brought into play.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ.

*Fascist Italy.* By WILLIAM EBENSTEIN, University of Wisconsin. (New York, American Book Company, 1939, pp. x, 310, \$2.50.)

## ARTICLES

FELICE ALDERISIO. La critica straniera su Machiavelli nell'ultimo quindicennio. *N. Riv. Stor.*, Jan.

ANTONIO FOSSATI. Nota sulla politica degli ammassi granari di Vittorio Amedeo II. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento*, Apr.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XLVI.—15

- HENRIQUE DE CAMPOS FERREIRA LIMA. Bibliografia portoghese del Risorgimento [in Portuguese]. *Ibid.*, May.
- EMILIA MORELLI. I fondi archivistici del Museo Centrale del Risorgimento: Gli acquisiti recenti. *Ibid.*
- RAFFAELE COGNETTI DE MARTIIS. Il governo di Maria Luigia e il Risorgimento italiano. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- TULLIO VECCHIETTI. Tre momenti dell'evoluzione giobertiana. *Riv. Stor. Ital.*, Mar.
- LUIGI SIGNORELLI. Pietro Napoleone Bonaparte e Gregorio XVI [cont.]. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento*, May.
- REGINA TERRUZZI. Le Cinque Giornate di Milano: Aneddoti di popolo. *Ibid.*
- EBE FILIPPON. La dottrina politica di Terenzio Mamiani. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- UMBERTO VALENTE. Bibliografia di Domenico Berti. *Ibid.*, May.
- FRANCESCO CATALUCCIO. La politica prussiana nella questione di Nizza e Savoia, Gennaio-Aprile 1860. *Riv. Stor. Ital.*, Mar.
- HUMPHREY J. T. JOHNSON. The Foreign Policy of United Italy, 1861-1939. *Dublin Rev.*, Apr.
- G. DE FRANCISCI GERBINO. Una grande riforma agraria: La colonizzazione del latifondo siciliano. *Giornale Ec. e Annali Ec.*, Jan.
- GIOACCHINO VOLPE. Pasquale Villari. *Riv. Stor. Ital.*, Mar.
- GRIFFITH TAYLOR. Trento to the Reschen Pass: A Cultural Traverse of the Adige Corridor. *Geograph. Rev.*, Apr.
- DENIS GWYNN. Vatican Diplomacy and Peace. *Dublin Rev.*, Apr.
- ROBERT SENCOURT. What is Rome Doing? *Fortnightly*, Mar.
- BARBARA BARCLAY CARTER. Italy and the War. *Contemp. Rev.*, July.
- Major-General Sir CHARLES GWYNN. Italy's Part in the War. *Fortnightly*, July.
- KARL WALTER. Inside Italy. *Ibid.*
- G. T. GARRATT. Italy and the Mediterranean. *Ibid.*, June.
- Italy's Unstable Economic Outlook. *Living Age*, July.

## DOCUMENTS

- CARLO ANGELERI. Un poemetto inedito in lode di Leone X. *Rinascita*, Apr.
- HOWARD R. MARRARO. Una lettera inedita di Michele Amari. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento*, May.

## RUSSIA AND POLAND

*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

*Ocherk istorii nizhegorodskovo opolcheniya 1611-1613* [history of the Nizhni-Novgorod levy, 1611-1613]. By P. G. LYUBOMIROV. (Moscow, Sotzkegiz, 1939, pp. 340, 7 r.) This monograph on the second "national levy" (*zemskoe opolchenie*), which brought to a close the Time of Troubles, was first published in 1917. It is the work of a pupil, now deceased, of the late Professor Platonov and forms a supplement to that conservative historian's studies on the turbulent period which preceded the election of the first Romanov. The present reprint contains three appendixes which do not appear in the original edition. The first, which was printed in the Proceedings of the University of Saratov for 1926 and which is entitled "New Material for the History of the Time of Troubles", offers a few texts gleaned from provincial manuscript collections. The second appendix is a paper, first published in 1922, dealing with a passage on Prince Pozharsky in a little-known manuscript copy of the Chronograph of 1617. Of considerable interest is the last item, a fairly extensive bibliographical study on the sources for the history of the Nizhni-Novgorod levy and on its historiography. Although written as far back as 1910, it is published for the first time in the volume under review.

*Operatsii vladivostokskikh kreiserov v russko-yaponskuyu voïnu 1904-05 gg.* [operations of the Vladivostok cruisers in the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905]. By V. E. YEGORYEV. (Moscow, Voenno-morskoe izdat. NKVMF SSSR, 1939, pp. 276, 6.15 r.) This monograph on the role played in the Russo-Japanese War by the four Russian cruisers which had Vladivostok as their base fills a gap in the not inconsiderable literature dealing with that conflict from the point of view of the military expert. Besides printed sources, the author used such unpublished material as the logbook of the cruiser *Russia* for 1904, documents from the Leningrad section of the Central Historical Archives, and the records of the special commission for the description of naval action in the Russo-Japanese War.

*Podvodnye lodki v operatsiyakh russkovo flota na Baltiiskom more v 1914-15 gg.* [submarines in the operations of the Russian Navy in the Baltic in 1914-15]. By A. V. TOMASHEVICH. (Moscow, Voenno-morskoe izdat. NKRMF SSSR, 1939, pp. 282, 8.50 r.) "The purpose of this work", writes the author, "is to give a systematic account of the battle performance of the submarines which were part of the Russian Baltic navy in the World War and to show what effect it had upon the course of military operations in the Baltic." The book is based chiefly on official documents kept in the Leningrad section of the Central Historical Archives. Fourteen supplements, consisting of statistical tables, graphs, charts, and maps, are appended to the text. A sequel covering the years 1916 and 1917 is in preparation, and plans are afoot for issuing similar monographs dealing with the other Russian theaters of the World War and of the civil conflict which followed it.

## ARTICLES

- AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY. Ivan the Terrible contra Martin Luther: A Sixteenth-Century Russian Manuscript. *New York Public Library Bull.*, June.
- K. IVANOV. Pereyaslavskaya flotiliya 1688-1693 gg. [Pereyaslav flotilla, 1688-1693]. *Morskoi sbornik*, 1940, no. 4.
- N. KOVALENSKAYA. Istoriya Akademii Khudozhestv i yego rol' v razvitií russkoi khudozhestvennoi kul'tury [history of the Academy of Arts and its role in the development of Russian artistic culture]. *Iskusstvo*, 1940, no. 1.
- ERNST SERAPHIM. Zar Nikolaus II und Graf Witte: Eine historisch-psychologische Studie. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, 1940, no. 2.
- N. G. KORSUN. Erzerumskaya operatsiya na kavkazskom fronte v 1915-1916 gg. [the Erzerum operation on the Caucasian front, 1915-16]. *Voyennaya mysl'*, 1940, no. 5.
- CHARLES DE CHAMBRUN. Pétersbourg et Pétrograd, 1914-1917 [1]. *Rev. Deux Mondes*, Apr. 1.
- A. KRUGLOV. Razvitiye russkoi morskoi artillerii [development of Russian naval artillery]. *Morskoi sbornik*, 1940, no. 5.
- N. SCIBORSKY. La question ukrainienne. *Rev. Éc. Internat.*, 1940, no. 1.
- VL. POREMSKY. Les reactions ouvrières dans l'économie soviétique. *Rev. Pol. et Parl.*, Apr. 10.
- LAZAR VOLIN. The Kremlin and the Peasants. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Apr.
- MAURICE DOBB. Lenin. *Slavonic Year-Book*, Vol. XIX.
- HENRY A. FRLUND. Soviet Law under Stalinism. *Ibid.*
- ALEXANDER KAUN. Historical Sense in Soviet Fiction. *Ibid.*
- Results of the Second Five-Year Plan and the Project of the Third Five-Year Plan. Birmingham University, Birmingham, England, Bureau of Research on Russian Economic Conditions, Memorandum no. 12, 1939.
- The Russo-Finnish War. *Fighting Forces*, Apr.
- LUIGI MAGLIARI GALANTE. La guerra russo-finlandese: Aspetti e caratteri. *Russ. Ital.*, Jan.
- PHILIPPE DE RÉGIS. La situation religieuse en Russie-Blanche et Ukraine occidentale. *Études*, Apr. 20.



- HENRY FIELD and EUGENE PROSTOV. Archaeological Researches in the U. S. S. R., 1938-1939. *Am. Anthropologist*, Apr.
- A. LEMAN. Saint Vincent de Paul et les sièges de Varsovie de 1655 à 1657. *Voix de Varsovie*, 1939.
- GABRIELE GABBRIELLI. Tre campagne di Polonia (1806-7; 1914-15; 1939). *Antieuropa*, 1939.
- A. S. The Law and Law Courts in Poland, 1919-1939. *Slavonic Year-Book*, Vol. XIX.
- LUC DURTAİN. Ce que Hitler prépare en Pologne. *Notre Combat*, 1940, no. 3.
- H. D. KEHM. Incidents of the Campaign in Poland, 1939. *Field Artillery Jour.*, May.
- La destruction de Varsovie. *Voix de Varsovie*, 1940.
- GEORGES MONTALBAN. La Pologne sous les bottes étrangères. *Grande Rev.*, Feb.
- Poland under Occupation. *Nineteenth Cent.*, June.

## DOCUMENTS

- M. KRUTIKOV. Nachalo zheleznodorozhnovo stroitel'stva v Rossii [beginning of railroad building in Russia; an edition of the text of "Information on Russian Railways", a memoir by P. P. Mel'nikov, written in 1871]. *Krasnyi arkhiv*, 1940, no. 2.
- G. ZAKHAROV. Vosstaniye russkikh soldat vo Frantsii v 1917 g. [mutiny of Russian soldiers in France in 1917.]. *Ibid.*
- S. MARKOV. Grazhdanskaya voïna v Finlyandii (1918 g.) [civil war in Finland, 1918]. *Ibid.*

## FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

*Japan surveys the European War.* (Tokyo, Tokyo Press Club, 1940, pp. 88.)

## ARTICLES

- HOMER H. DUBS. Chinese Histories and the First Dynastic History. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Apr.
- C. R. BOXER. Was Camoens ever in Macau? *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Apr.
- GIDEON CH'EN. Early History of China's External Debts. *Yenching Jour. Soc. Stud.*, Feb.
- JOHN L. CHRISTIAN. Trans-Burma Trade Routes to China. *Pacific Affairs*, June.
- SHUNZO SAKAMAKI. Japan and the United States, 1790-1853. *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, Dec.
- HOMER H. DUBS. Wang Mang and his Economic Reforms. *T'oung Pao*, 1940, no. 4.
- EDWIN O. REISCHAUER. Notes on T'ang Dynasty Sea Routes. *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.*, June.

## UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

## GENERAL

*La política internacional de los Estados Unidos: Interpretaciones.* By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. [Biblioteca Interamericana.] (New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1939, pp. xi, 192.) This little book, a reprint of a series of lectures delivered by Professor Bemis while serving as Carnegie Visiting Professor in Latin America in 1937-38, is a brief but scholarly study of several of the principal problems of the foreign policy of the United States. It should be of great interest to the Latin-American reader as a frank exposition of these problems, supported by much historical detail, and dealing fearlessly with several subjects which have caused misunderstanding between Latin America and the United States in the past.

DANA G. MUNRO.

*Some Historic Houses: Their Builders and their Places in History.* Edited by Dr. JOHN C. FITZPATRICK. [Published under the Auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America.] (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. x, 160, \$4.00.)

The houses discussed are those maintained by the state societies, members of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

*Shakespeare in America.* By ESTHER CLOUDMAN DUNN. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xiv, 310, \$3.50.) Miss Dunn's work "is not an exhaustive and complete history of Shakespeare in America", but it is an attempt to show how our attitude toward Shakespeare has changed during each phase of our national growth. The work is written for the general reader; there are no footnotes, and there is no formal bibliography, although there is a brief reference list of books in the preface. As a whole, the book is not well written, and many of the conclusions are based on pure assumption. The second chapter, on the general subject of Shakespeare in America during the seventeenth century, is representative of the author's methods. The library lists and book interests of many persons—such as John Harvard, Increase and Cotton Mather—are examined for possible references to Shakespeare. In not a single instance is it shown that any one of all these persons had direct access to any of Shakespeare's works. Still Miss Dunn concludes that "evidences of the presence and reading of Shakespeare's plays . . . are there". The careful reader, however, fails to find them. Nevertheless the chapters concerned with Shakespeare on the frontier and in the Gold Rush bring together much interesting information not generally available in any other single work.

JOSEPH S. SCHICK.

*Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross.* By CHARLES HUNT PAGE. (New York, Dial Press, 1940, pp. xiv, 319, \$3.50.)

*Fundamentals of American Government.* By WILLIAM ANDERSON, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota. [American Political Science Series.] (New York, Henry Holt, 1940, pp. x, 630, \$3.00.)

*American Local Government.* By ROGER HEWES WELLS. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1939, pp. xii, 200, \$1.50.) This concise and well-written little volume is more truly a discussion of intergovernmental relationships today than of the structure and function of local government alone. Professor Wells has emphasized the shifting interplay of the forces of government under present-day conditions and has succinctly shown the need for a reallocation of the areas and structures of local government in accordance with the demands of economic and social life today. The chapters on "The States and Local Government" and "The Role of the Federal Government" bring out in bold relief these important interrelationships, while the chapter on "The Citizen and Local Government" throws new light on an old problem. The weakest part of the volume is its discussion of the actual organization and work of local government. In his attempt to cover much in small compass, Professor Wells has neglected the problems with which government actually deals. The book is so easily and fluently written that it should be of interest to the layman as well as to the person particularly interested in government. It is a real contribution to have shown that stimulating generalizations may be provocatively made in small space and that really good writing on American government is not of necessity confined to the field of constitutional law.

JANE PERRY CLARK.

*The Collapse of the National Benefit Life Insurance Company: A Study in High Finance among Negroes.* By JAMES B. MITCHELL, Sometime Fellow in Economics and Instructor in Commerce and Finance, Howard University. [The Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Washington, Graduate School for the Division of the Social Sciences, Howard University, 1939, pp. i, 150, \$1.00.)

*Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: The Journey and Route of the First European to cross the Continent of North America, 1534-1536.* By CLEVE HALLENBECK. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1940, pp. 326, \$6.00.) This is a work of sound scholarship, possibly the definitive tale of the journey of that famous Spanish pedestrian in sixteenth century North America, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. The author made an exhaustive study of the available materials, and himself went over most of the route, checking the statements of Núñez with geographic and climatic conditions as they are known to be today. His main contribution is in showing that the route followed was much farther north than other writers have believed it to be, that Núñez reached New Mexico by way of the Colorado River (Texas) and did not touch Mexican soil until he crossed the Arizona line into Sonora. After a preface and introduction there are three parts to the volume. In Part I (pp. 33-101) the author paraphrases the accounts of Núñez to give a narrative of the journey. Mr. Hallenbeck's own comments appear in numerous footnotes. Part II (pp. 105-241), the heart of the volume, is wholly concerned with the route. Paragraphs from the Bandelier translation of the Núñez accounts are followed by the author's discussion thereof with such additional information as he has been able to obtain. In Part III (pp. 245-306) the arguments and conclusions of other notable writers who have endeavored to trace the route are considered, and the mistakes they made are pointed out. In the main, these others lacked knowledge of Indian trails and Indian customs and of the flora and fauna of the region traversed, information upon which Mr. Hallenbeck relied very greatly. A bibliography of works used (all printed materials) and an excellent annotated index complete the volume. All in all, this book is a fine contribution to scholarship and makes very interesting reading.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

*French Travelers in the Southeastern United States, 1775-1800.* By LEE W. RYAN. (Bloomington, Principia Press, 1939, pp. viii, 107, \$2.00.) Travelers, like many less peripatetic commentators, are apt to see that which lies behind their eyes. Furthermore, their observations on manners, morals, education, and the arts are often deeply influenced by the climate, the condition of the roads, or the tavern accommodations at the moment when entries are made in diaries and journals. Of this Mr. Ryan is undoubtedly well aware, yet no word of his warns the reader of his brief monograph, which contains a collection of impressions of the southeastern United States—Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia—gained by French travelers who visited the region during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He is content to let the travelers speak for themselves. With notebook at his elbow he has gone through more than two score of diaries, journals, and memoirs, jotting down the remarks of French visitors on a long list of topics—roads, inns, climate, health, agriculture, politics, public spirit, education, manners, morals, and cultural achievement. His own commentary on these comments is slight. No doubt there is justification for such self-restraint, but it results in a rather dull catalogue. For the historian, Mr. Ryan's work (though he did not so plan it) is chiefly valuable as another warning against facile generalizations based upon the impressions of a few travelers, be they French, English, or of some other nationality.

JOHN A. KROUT.

*Colonial Panorama, 1775: Dr. Robert Honyman's Journal for March and April.* Edited by PHILIP PADEFORD. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1939, pp. xiii, 86, \$2.00.) On March 1, 1775, Robert Honyman, a young Scottish physician who had come to America some two years earlier, set out from Virginia on a journey which took him as far as Marblehead. Following the agreeable custom

of the time he kept a day-to-day account of his activities and observations. He traveled with apparently no other purpose than his own edification and recreation. Honyman's observations are doubtless the fresher because he was viewing unfamiliar scenes in what was still essentially a strange land. He comments upon the condition of the soil and the progress in cultivation and settlement, the size, appearance, and business activities of the towns and the architecture of prominent buildings, and he shows an understandable wayfarer's interest in the condition of the roads. He bears ample testimony to the rising tide of political feeling, which becomes the stronger as he proceeds northeast. His own attitude is not to be doubted: his is the rather urbane outlook of the moderate Tory. He sits up late at Newport "disputing with some of the most ridiculous, contemptible Liberty men I have yet met with", but expresses relief when a loquacious lawyer, a violent Tory, departs from his lodgings at Boston. He finds that city full of British troops. "I think", he comments, "if they remain here much longer, some desperate affair must happen." He was back in Virginia, however, before he heard the news of Lexington. Honyman left a longer journal for the period from January, 1776, to March, 1782, the manuscript of which is in the Library of Congress, but the present journal has definite unity and is appropriately published by itself. Rich in local color, it is a welcome addition to the printed background material for the American Revolution. The format is attractive and the editing well done. LEONIDAS DODSON.

*The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker, 1819-1844.* By REV. VINCENT F. HOLDEN, C. S. P. [The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1939, pp. ix, 257, \$2.00.) Father Walter Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* (1894) is so decidedly a superior religious biography that most investigators have gone no further to satisfy their curiosity about Isaac Hecker. Father Holden in this excellent volume has returned to the Hecker Papers, and, by supplementing them with newspaper research and with the papers of Orestes A. Brownson, he has been able to correct and expand Elliott's account of Hecker's early years. He has disentangled from Hecker's hazy recollections of fifty years later the actual facts of his youthful political allegiances, and he has established beyond doubt that Hecker met Brownson in 1841, not in 1837, formerly the accepted date. The proportions and balance of the book, however, might have been better preserved had the author confined the detailed discussion of some of these doubtful points to footnotes. The steps which led to Hecker's conversion are described mainly by excerpts from his letters and journals with little attempt at interpretation of his inner perplexities. If a psychological analysis of Hecker's mystical moments would have been out of order, at least it might have been valuable to place him in the great tradition of Catholic mystics. The study stops at the conversion—the point where Hecker's career becomes most interesting to the American historian. The anti-paper-money quotation on page 38, apparently assigned to the Hecker brothers, is actually a somewhat garbled version of a remark of Daniel Webster's. It is to be hoped that in another volume Father Holden will deal in the same careful and competent way with Hecker's very important activities in advancing Catholicism in America. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

*The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861.* By AVERY CRAVEN. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University, 1938.] (University, Louisiana State University Press, 1939, pp. xi, 97, \$1.50.) The author of the three stimulating lectures in this little volume has indulged himself in a theme that recalls what the poet has designated as "the saddest words of tongue

or pen". The first depicts "Southern Nationalism" as an unnecessary evolution from a sectionalism induced in the South by "a drive launched first against her labor system and then broadened into an attack against the character of her people and their entire way of life" (p. 27). Against this force, even in 1860, "any kind of sane policy . . . might have saved the day" (p. 5). The second, on "The Peculiar Institution", is an effective review of a familiar theme. The concluding lecture, on "The Repressible Conflict", analyzes the repercussions of the antislavery attack and the proslavery defense and the increasing emotionalism on both sides but suggests that they were the work of "crack-pot reformers" on the one hand and of extravagant "fire-eaters" on the other—politicians all, who "gave an air of reality to the abstractions of those who had evolved the slavery question into a struggle of civilizations" (p. 94). Meantime "average Americans" went about their busy ways until at length they became the victims of a bitter conflict which the fanatics on both sides proclaimed a holy war. It is always difficult to determine which are the constants and which the variables in a period such as that of the slavery controversy. Unless one concedes a fundamental status to emotional forces and their part in history, one finds much in Mr. Craven's thesis with which he must agree. It should be recognized, however, that in his conception of the fatuous forces involved in this conflict he sets himself not only against historians of pro-Northern or pro-Southern sympathies but against many of the conceptions of sectionalism held by his mentor, the late Frederick Jackson Turner.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

*Frances Wright, Free Enquirer: The Study of a Temperament.* By A. J. G. PERKINS and THERESA WOLFSON. (New York, Harper, 1939, pp. 393, \$3.50.) With the appearance of this excellent new biography Fanny Wright can hardly be regarded any longer as a neglected figure in American history. She has finally come into her own, and deservedly so, for she was undoubtedly one of the most interesting and fascinating women in American life during the generation following the War of 1812. No student of the social and intellectual ferment of the period can well afford to overlook her enthusiastic, and often startling, crusades in behalf of a larger measure of social justice for the down-trodden and oppressed as well as for a more enlightened order of society. The authors of the present study have told the story well and at considerable length. Perhaps their most significant contribution is the additional light thrown upon Miss Wright's private life and personality. Through it one gains a better understanding of both the strength and weakness of a dominant and sadly undisciplined character. And this helps to a better understanding of her triumphs and failures. From the standpoint of the student, the chief weakness of the book lies in the inadequacy of its reference citations. This is partly compensated for by an excellent bibliography, although a somewhat fuller description of the Wright Papers in the possession of the Reverend William Norman Guthrie, Miss Wright's grandson, might have been desirable, particularly as the material drawn from this important collection is not always so indicated in the body of the book.

W. R. WATERMAN.

*Abraham Lincoln Association Papers delivered before the Members of the Abraham Lincoln Association at Springfield, Illinois, on February 11, 12, 1939.* (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1940, pp. 234, \$2.00.) This volume contains two addresses: "Such were his Words" by James Weber Linn, professor of English, University of Chicago; and "The Lincoln of the Second Inaugural" by J. V. Moldenhawer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, New York City.

*Hours and Wages in American Organized Labor.* By JOSEPH M. VIAU. (New York, Putnam's, 1939, pp. xiii, 301, \$2.50.) Professor Viau's study is in effect a brief history of the American labor movement from the Knights of Labor to the present. It directs its primary attention to the wage, hour, child labor, and collective bargaining policies of the labor movement. But since these are the core of trade union behavior, the historical content of the book is more inclusive than is suggested by its title. In addition to reciting the chronological developments in organized labor's economic policies, the author gives an account of the attitudes and policies of the Catholic Church, the National Association of Manufacturers, state and federal governments, and the Supreme Court with respect to problems of wages and hours, child labor, and collective bargaining. The period of the N.I.R.A. receives a chapter to itself. The author's style is simple and readable but frequently lacks polish and maturity. For example, "On June 20, 1939, we read where John C. Gall . . . makes a sweeping condemnation" (p. 262). The author's conclusions are that there "is need of intelligent co-operation on the part of capital and labor in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the unemployment problem" and that as a means of meeting the problem of technological unemployment, "price reduction would fit better into our economic program and benefit, therefore, more groups than the wage-increase method".

ROBERT R. R. BROOKS.

*The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics, and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937.* By IRA DE A. REID. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 261, \$3.50.) The foreign-born Negroes in the United States numbered nearly 100,000 in 1930 and are a rapidly increasing element in our population. Because a considerable part of the Caribbean area is without quota restrictions, approximately three quarters of the total have come from the West Indies. Dr. Reid has drawn together such fragmentary bits as are available regarding the West Indians in their native residences or in their new homes and has supplemented these with studies of his own. He is to be complimented on his success. The Negro immigrants are polyglot, Spanish, French, Portuguese, as well as colloquial English being their native tongues. All possible degrees of dilution with white blood are to be found among them. A large proportion is Roman Catholic, and a considerable number of the Anglican faith. Educational level is extremely varied. Practically all are of low economic status. Almost all are from centers where Negroes are dominant numerically and where they have had considerable political influence. Because of the variety of their backgrounds the foreign-born Negroes do not possess sufficient cohesion to constitute a group unto themselves. Yet linguistically they are "peculiar" in the ears of their fellows of continental origin. Ill-received by native-born Negroes, unaccustomed to the discriminations that are the lot of all Negroes in the United States, they find their new residence anything but homelike. To minimize unpleasantnesses, over half of the foreign-born Negroes have settled in New York City. A few colonies have located in other northern coastal cities. Miami is the only southern city with appreciable numbers. In chapter viii, "The Negro Immigrant's Life Story", Dr. Reid presents in an organized fashion many instructive, amusing, and sometimes pathetic anecdotes in the words of the migrant himself, disclosing gradual absorption into Negro American life.

FRANK ALEXANDER ROSS.

*The New Deal in Action, 1933-1939.* By ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, FRANCIS LEE HIGGINSON Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. 77, 50 cents.)

*Documents on American Foreign Relations, January, 1938-June, 1939.* Edited by S. SHEPARD JONES and DENYS P. MYERS. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1939, pp. xxvi, 582, \$3.75.) Anticipating by sixteen years the official releases of the Department of State in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, the documents published in this volume, covering as they do one of the most critical periods in modern history, constitute source material of vital significance for the publicist and the historian. They represent the most valuable contribution made by the World Peace Foundation in the thirty years of its existence. The work, which is very ably edited, consists of a preface, eleven major sections, and an appendix. Having documented in detail the general principles and policy of the United States, the editors examine our relations with foreign states, with special reference to inter-American relations, the conflict in the Far East, European relations, trade and commercial agreements, finance, refugees, international communications, relations with international organizations, national action covering especially defense, and legislation covering neutrality and peace. Amid such a wealth of material, selection is capricious, but in the present (1940) state of public opinion, correspondence between Representative Louis Ludlow of Indiana and Secretary of State Cordell Hull (pp. 495-99) is of more than passing interest for the light it sheds upon the growth of our national defenses and the uses to which they may potentially be put. Of equal interest is President Roosevelt's address at Queen's University, August 18, 1938 (pp. 23-26), officially pledging that "the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire"—a blank check, one might say, likely to be presented some day for payment. Mr. Roosevelt's appeal to Chancellor Hitler of April 14, 1939, and the latter's reply, withering in its sarcasm (pp. 306-25), may highlight the volume when perspective clears. One cannot know this now.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

*The Neutrality of the United States: Laws, Proclamations, Orders, Regulations, and Inter-American Declarations Applicable during the Present War in Europe; Documents covering Period September 3-December 14, 1939.* (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1940, pp. iv, 68, 25 cents.)

#### ARTICLES

- WILLIAM D. OVERMAN. The Relation of a State Historical Society to Local Historical Societies. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.
- SUZANNE TASSIER. Un grand centre historique américain: La Hoover Library. *Rev. Université de Bruxelles*, Oct. and Dec., 1939.
- RAYMOND L. WELTY. The Supremacy of Constitutional Law. *Aerend*, Fall (1939).
- H. MAXSON HOLLOWAY. Exhibition of American Imprints, 1663-1850. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.*, July.
- MAX FARRAND. Self-Portraiture: The Autobiography [of Benjamin Franklin]. *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, July.
- JOHN R. ALDEN. The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- HARRISON K. BIRD, JR. Early American Cavalry Helmets. *Bull. Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, July.
- Capt. SYDNEY E. HAMMERSLEY. 18th Century Cannon. *Ibid.*
- HUGH THURSFIELD. Smallpox in the American War of Independence. *An. Medical Hist.*, July.
- JOHN W. WAYLAND. Washington West of the Blue Ridge. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- GILBERT CHINARD. Polybius and the American Constitution. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Jan.
- GEORGE M. DUTCHER. The Rise of Republican Government in the United States. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, June.



- RICHARD J. PURCELL. Marshall vs. Taney. *Cath. Educ. Rev.*, Mar.
- ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. The City in American History. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- JOHN D. BARNHART. Southern Contributions to the Social Order of the Old Northwest. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.
- Lieut.-Col. A. C. M. AZOY, New Orleans [Jan. 8, 1815]. *Coast Artillery Jour.*, May.
- GEORGE C. GROCE, JR., and J. T. CHASE WILLET. Joseph Wood: A Brief Account of his Life and the First Catalogue of his Work. *Art Quar.*, Spring.
- HENRY H. SIMMS. A Critical Analysis of Abolition Literature, 1830-1840. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.
- DANIEL C. HASKELL. The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842, and its Publications, 1844-1874. *Bull. New York Public Library*, Feb.
- LOGAN HAY. Lincoln One Hundred Years Ago. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, June.
- WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE. We are Coming, Father Abraham! *Ibid.*
- BRAINERD DYER. Zachary Taylor and the Election of 1848. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
- HARRY J. CARMAN and REINHARD H. LUTHIN. Some Aspects of the Know-Nothing Movement Reconsidered. *South Atlantic Quar.*, Apr.
- J. G. RANDALL. When War came in 1861. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, Mar. [successor to *Bull. Abraham Lincoln Assoc.*]
- Id.* The Blundering Generation. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- HUGO HAMMAR, A. D. W. MOORE, tr. The Monitor and the Merrimac. *Mariner's Mirror*, Apr.
- ELMER ELLIS. Public Opinion and the Income Tax, 1860-1900. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- LEO ALILUNAS. Legal Restrictions on the Negro in Politics. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.
- ERIC F. GOLDMAN. Importing a Historian: Von Holst and American Universities. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- REV. GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS. The Life of Edward Carrington: A Brief Sketch. *Americana*, Third Quarter.
- J. J. McDONALD. The American Cattle Industry. *Ibid.*
- SELIG ADLER. Bryan and Wilsonian Caribbean Penetration. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- H. A. DE WEERD. American Industrial Mobilization for War, 1917-1918. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.
- RICHARD J. PURCELL. Justice Pierce Butler. *Am. Irish Hist. Soc., Recorder*, May.
- ROBERT BURNETT HALL. American Raw-Material Deficiencies and Regional Dependence. *Geograph. Rev.*, Apr.
- ALBERT K. WEINBERG. The Historical Meaning of the American Doctrine of Isolation. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, June.

## DOCUMENTS

- WILLIAM F. KELLER. Jefferson refutes a Tory Argument. *Americana*, Third Quarter.
- BRAINERD DYER. Robert J. Walker on Acquiring Greenland and Iceland. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- Abraham Lincoln to Simeon Francis, Aug. 4, 1860. *Abraham Lincoln Quar.*, Mar.
- PAUL H. GIDDENS. Benn Pittman on the Trial of Lincoln's Assassin. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.

## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

*Inventors and Engineers of Old New Haven: A Series of Six Lectures given in 1938 under the Auspices of the School of Engineering, Yale University.* Edited by RICHARD SHELTON KIRBY. [New Haven Tercentenary Publications.] (New Haven, New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1939, pp. 111.) This volume comprises six lectures which were delivered during the winter and spring of 1938 under the auspices of the School of Engineering of Yale University. The titles of the lectures and the names of the lecturers are: "Eli Whitney", by Joseph Wickham Roe; "Early New Haven Inventors", by Joseph Wickham Roe;

"Early Yale Inventors", by Ralph Henry Gabriel; "Early Yale Engineers", by Richard Shelton Kirby; "The Formative Years of New Haven's Public Utilities", by Henry Hotchkiss Townshend; and "The Story of the Founding of the Sheffield Scientific School", by Russell Henry Chittenden.

*The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: A Study in Revolutionary Democracy.* By J. PAUL SELSAM. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936, pp. x, 280, \$2.50.) J. P. Brissot de Warville, who looked through rose-colored glasses at anything produced in America, had this to say of the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776: "La perfection n'est pas de la nature humaine. En approcher c'est y être parvenu, & nulle constitution n'en est plus voisine que celle de Pensylvanie." James Wilson, a great student of jurisprudence but one who looked with abhorrence at anything produced by George Bryan, referred to it as "the most detestable ever formed". Brissot's panegyrics and Wilson's polemics may be more exciting, but they are less satisfying than the dissertation of Mr. Selsam, who grinds no axe. His is a dispassionate, scholarly treatment of the growth of the democratic spirit in a province where the usual East-West political antipathy was heightened by the presence of a mixed population of English, Germans, and Scots-Irish, an estimated half of whom in 1755 were foreign born. The Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 was perhaps the most democratic constitution produced during the Revolution, and the fact that it set two such avowed democrats as Brissot and Wilson poles apart in their attitude toward it indicates that it holds more than common interest for students of American institutions. Mr. Selsam's account of the democratic forces back of the constitution and his analysis of the convention, of the features of the document, and of the sectional, class, and population elements that contributed to its adoption are well documented and reveal a firm grasp of the period. As a study in revolutionary democracy it is, of course, confined to Pennsylvania, but this constitution, with its unicameral legislature and democratic features, was more regarded in Europe than any of the other state constitutions. Mr. Selsam could treat this external influence in an interesting supplement to his competent thesis.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

*A Quaker Childhood.* By HELEN THOMAS FLEXNER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, pp. 335. \$3.00.)

#### ARTICLES

- RICHARD H. SHRYOCK. Philadelphia and the Flowering of New England. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- MARY KENT BABCOCK. The Constitutional Convention of the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1790. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.
- A. M. SCHLESINGER, JR. The Problem of Richard Hildreth. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.
- CHARLES M. HAAR. White Indentured Servants in Colonial New York. *Americana*, Third Quarter.
- EDWARD C. DELAVAN, JR. The First Century of Richmond County Courts [cont.]. *Staten Island Historian*, Apr.
- HOWARD R. MARRORO. Italo-Americans in Seventeenth-Century New York. *New York Hist.*, July.
- STEPHEN DECATUR. Washington on Long Island. *Ibid.*
- OSCAR ZEICHNER. The Loyalist Problem in New York after the Revolution. *Ibid.*
- H. S. VAN KLOOSTER. The First Great Patron of Science in America [Stephen Van Rensselaer]. *Ibid.*
- RALPH FOSTER WELD. Winter Evenings in Old Brooklyn. *Long Island Hist. Soc. Quar.*, July.

- Sir EDWARD MIDWINTER. The S. P. G. Missionaries in New Jersey during the Revolutionary War. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.
- MILTON RUBINCAM. John Barclay of Perth Amboy: The Scion of an Illustrious House. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, July.
- HUBERT SCHMIDT. Slavery and Attitudes on Slavery, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. *Ibid.*
- NORMAN H. MASON. Why 'Philadelphia'? [the name]. *Gen. Mag. and Hist. Chron.*, July.
- E. C. O. BEATTY. William Penn, Pragmatist [I]. *Bull. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, Spring.
- LILY LEE NIXON. Colonel James Burd in the Campaign of 1760. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar.
- ROBERT J. LEACH. Elisha Bates and the Mt. Pleasant Printing Press, 1817-1827. *Bull. Friends' Hist. Assoc.*, Spring.
- ANNA COX BRINTON. Quaker Profiles. *Ibid.*
- NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT. Affair with Professor Pattison [1823]. *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- ELWYN B. ROBINSON. The *North American*: Advocate of Protection. *Ibid.*
- CATHERINE BACKOFEN. Congressman Harmar Denny [1794-1852]. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, June.
- WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS. A Great Evangelical: Alonzo Potter, Third Bishop of Pennsylvania. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.
- NATHAN D. SHAPPEE. Spoliation and Encroachment in the Conemaugh Valley before the Johnstown Flood of 1889. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, Mar.
- Id.* The Johnstown Flood and Pittsburgh's Relief, 1889. *Ibid.*, June.
- EUGENE LEMOYNE CONNELLY. The First Motion Picture Theater. *Ibid.*, Mar.

## DOCUMENTS

- MARY CHANDLER LOWELL, contr. Early Town Records of Williamsburg, Maine. *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July.
- Minutes of the First Conventions of the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1784-1790. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, June.
- DAVID SANDERS CLARK. Journals and Orderly Books kept by Connecticut Soldiers during the French and Indian Wars, 1755-1762. *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July.
- HENRY ONDERDONK, JR., contr. Flushing Tax Lists of 1784 and 1788. *Long Island Hist. Soc. Quar.*, July.
- EDNA JACOBSEN. Aaron Mapton's Diary [1813], I. *New York Hist.*, July.
- A Copy of the Minute Book of Nottingham Township [to 1772; concl.]. *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, July.
- DR. BENJAMIN RUSH. Pennsylvania in 1786 [reprint of letter]. *Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag.*, June.
- FLORENCE and MARY HOWARD. The letters of John Patterson, 1812-1813. *Ibid.*

## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

*The Historical Records of North Carolina*. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration. Edited by CHARLES CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN and DAN LACY. Volume III, *The County Records, Nash through Yancey*. (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1939, pp. x, 760, gratis, mailing fee of 25 cents.) In completing within the limits of three volumes the inventories of some hundred North Carolina county archives, the state director of the Historical Records Survey has set an admirable standard of conciseness, accuracy, and dispatch which other states might profitably emulate. County histories are brief, and the comprehensive introduction in Volume I makes possible the omission of the histories of county offices—a phase of the investigation which has seriously delayed the completion of the inventories in many states. The partial centralization of county records at Raleigh has doubtless facilitated the inventorying. Among the oldest counties whose rich archival resources are set forth in this volume are Pasquotank and Perquimans. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

*Check-List of Virginia State Publications, 1932-1935.* [Bulletin of the Virginia State Library.] (Richmond, Division of Purchase and Printing, 1939, pp. 198, for free distribution.)

*Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State.* Compiled and written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Florida. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xxvi, 600, \$2.50.)

*The Life and Times of Edmund Pendleton.* By ROBERT LEROY HILLDRUP. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. xi, 363, \$3.50.) This is a matter-of-fact biography of a matter-of-fact statesman. To the present generation Edmund Pendleton is hardly more than a name; his reputation has been obscured by the glory that has come to more spectacular Virginians of the revolutionary and constitutional period—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee. Yet merely to catalogue the honors Virginia heaped upon Pendleton would indicate the part he played in a great state at perhaps the most critical period of its history. Whenever its statesmen gathered to consider public issues, Virginia invariably selected Edmund Pendleton to preside over the deliberations. This habit gave Pendleton his great moment in history, for it made him president of one of the most fateful assemblies that ever met on this continent. That was the convention, called in the summer of 1788, to decide whether Virginia should ratify the new Federal Constitution. Virginia was then the largest, richest, and most populous state; on its decision the destiny of the Constitution might well depend. Pendleton, a helpless cripple from a recent accident, frequently abandoned the president's rostrum and, propped up by crutches, led the fight in favor of adoption. To his leadership Virginia's favorable action was largely due. The man was not of the stuff that makes popular heroes; he lacked literary gifts; he was substantial, learned, able, high-minded, rather than brilliant; his conservatism led him to oppose Jefferson's reforms on land tenure, primogeniture, and church disestablishment, just as it had previously led him to oppose a break with England before all conciliatory methods of appeasing the quarrel had been tried. But he was a fine character and a fine citizen, and this scholarly volume is a welcome contribution to American political literature.

BURTON J. HENDRICK.

*The Course of the South to Secession: An Interpretation.* By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS. Edited by E. MERTON COULTER. [The American Historical Association.] (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1939, pp. xi, 176, \$2.50.) In the last years of his life Professor Phillips was writing a political history of the antebellum South which he intended to be a companion volume to his *Life and Labor in the Old South*. Although he did not live to complete this task, he had gone far enough with it to use some of his material as a series of six lectures at Northwestern University; and these lectures, together with a reprinting of his article entitled "The Central Theme of Southern History" (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV, 30-43), constitute the present volume. Although these facts indicate that this is an unfinished work, there is little evidence of incompleteness about the book except its small size. The writing is clear and compact, comments are sound and mature, and interpretations are bolder and more numerous than in any of his previous books. It seems to the reviewer that in this book Professor Phillips continues to believe strongly in the thesis that the central theme in Southern history has been the white man's determination to maintain white supremacy. Inasmuch as he published this interpretation some years ago, and the thesis was then discussed rather fully, it seems undesirable to revive that

debate within the limits of a brief review. But note must be made of the fact that in this his last book Professor Phillips was more aware than he had been earlier of the dangers of oversimplified interpretations. Here he examines fairly and thoughtfully a number of the complex crosscurrents of Southern political history, and he has woven his conclusions into an essay which is perhaps the soundest account in print of the political antecedents of secession. Professor Coulter's editing is unobtrusive and excellent.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

## ARTICLES

- REV. ROBERT E. LEE BEARDEN, JR. The Episcopal Church in the Confederate States. *Americana*, Third Quarter.
- HARRISON A. TREXLER. The Opposition of Planters to the Employment of Slaves as Laborers by the Confederacy. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, Sept.
- J. CARLYLE SITTESON. The McCollams: A Planter Family of the Old and New South. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.
- PAUL WALLACE GATES. Federal Land Policy in the South, 1866-1888. *Ibid.*
- LOUIS D. SCISCO. Evolution of Colonial Militia in Maryland. *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, June.
- CARL ROSS MCKENRICK. New Munster. *Ibid.*
- JOHN SAULSBURY SHORT. Sidney Lanier, "Familiar Citizen of the Town". *Ibid.*
- LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Pious Reading in Colonial Virginia. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.
- Id.* The Classical Tradition in Colonial Virginia. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, XXXIII (1939).
- GLEN CURTIS SMITH. The Affair of the Pistole Fee, Virginia, 1752-1755. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON. The Colonial Churches of Surry and Sussex Counties, Virginia. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, Apr.
- C. E. HATCH, JR. Gloucester Point in the Siege of Yorktown, 1781. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM BUCKNER MCGROARTY. Alexandria Academy. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE H. S. KING. General George Weedon. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM SHEPARD. Buckingham Female Collegiate Institute [I]. *Ibid.*
- The Society of the Cincinnati in Fredericksburg . . . 30 March, 1940. *Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, July.
- GASTON LITTON. Enrollment Records of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.
- MARGUERITE B. HAMER. A Century before Manumission: Sidelights on Slavery in Mid-Eighteenth-Century South Carolina. *Ibid.*
- CARL BRIDENBAUGH. Charlestonians at Newport, 1767-1775. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr.
- E. HORACE FITCHETT. The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.
- ELIZABETH MAYS. "The Celebrated Mrs. Cobb"—Mrs. Howell Cobb. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, June.
- Savannah Unit, Georgia Writers' Project. Richmond Oakgrove Plantation [II]. *Ibid.*
- CECELIA C. METTLER. The Central Medical Society of Georgia. *Ibid.*
- WATT MARCHMAN. The Florida Historical Society, 1856-1861, 1879, 1902-1940. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, July.
- JOHN S. KENDALL. The Humors of the Duello. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- POWELL A. CASEY. Early History of the Washington Artillery of New Orleans. *Ibid.*
- STANLEY FAYE. Privateers of Guadeloupe and their Establishment in Barataria. *Ibid.*
- PHILIP C. BROOKS. Spain's Farewell to Louisiana, 1803-1821. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- MILDRED KELLY GINN. A History of Rice Production in Louisiana to 1896. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- ROBERT T. CLARK, JR. Reconstruction and the New Orleans German Colony. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM C. BINKLEY. The Activities of the Texan Revolutionary Army after San Jacinto. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.

## DOCUMENTS

- D. C. CORBITT. Papers relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier [XV]. *Georgia Hist. Quar.*, June.
- HERBERT L. GANTER, contr. Documents relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and to the History of the Church in Virginia. *William and Mary Coll. Quar. Hist. Mag.*, Apr.
- Letters of George Washington to Lord Dunmore [1772-1774]. *Ibid.*
- ANNA DEANE CARR, DAVIDS, contr. Letter of Peter S. Randolph, July 28, 1787. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, July.
- FILLMORE NORFLEET. Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport as seen by Moreau de Saint-Mery in March, April and May, 1794 [concl.]. *Ibid.*
- ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON. Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Polk [concl.]. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, July.
- JOHN BENNETT, contr. Marion-Gadsden Correspondence [November, 1782]. *South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag.*, Apr.
- ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE, contr. Letters from Thomas Pinckney, jr. to Harriott Pinckney [1801-1802]. *Ibid.*, July.
- JAMES A. PADGETT. Minutes of the Council of West Florida, April 3-July 22, 1769. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- NANNIE M. TILLEY. Letter of Judge Alexander M. Clayton relative to Confederate Courts in Mississippi [September 5, 1864]. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Aug.
- WALTER PRICHARD. Minutes of the Police Jury of St. Helena Parish, August 16-19, 1813. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- KARL J. R. ARNDT. A Bavarian's Journey to New Orleans and Nacogdoches in 1853-1854. *Ibid.*
- WALTER PRICHARD. The Origin and Activities of the "White League" in New Orleans (Reminiscences of a Participant in the Movement). *Ibid.*

## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

*A Pioneer Merchant of St. Louis, 1810-1820: The Business Career of Christian Wilt.* By Sister MARIETTA JENNINGS. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 219, \$2.50.) Christian Wilt was in partnership with his uncle, Joseph Hertzog, a Philadelphia merchant who handled the purchase of goods in Eastern markets and supplied much of the capital on which Wilt operated at St. Louis. In true Western style the partners engaged in much more than the retailing of goods at St. Louis. At various times branch stores were in operation at Sainte Genevieve, Herculaneum, and New Hartford, Missouri. Wilt engaged in the manufacture of lead, candles, and soap at St. Louis, operated a shot factory at New Madrid, and supervised a distillery at Cahokia, Illinois. Banks, land speculation, and the operation of a fleet of boats on the Ohio River also claimed the attention of the partners. The author has used the Hertzog-Wilt manuscripts as her basic material and has supplemented these with newspapers, other manuscript collections, and published records. Students will find this book well worth consulting. One may regret, however, that the author has limited herself largely to a detailed description of the day-by-day conduct of the firm. Broader issues of policy are at times lost in details. Wilt's advertisement of patent medicines (pp. 63-64) seems to be the only reference to advertising by the partners, and this was paid for in part by the manufacturers. Hertzog had rather definite ideas about publicizing goods, and his convictions along such lines should be a matter of record. Attention to policy could well have been substituted for part of the background material dealing with the history of the region before Wilt's arrival. Unfortunately, too, there are occasionally questionable statements, such as that on page 77 where Renault is credited with bringing five hundred

Negroes from Santo Domingo in 1720. In its main outlines, however, the book constitutes an accurate and thorough presentation of the facts of Wilt's career.

LEWIS E. ATHERTON.

*The Michigan Constitutional Conventions of 1835-36: Debates and Proceedings.* Edited by HAROLD M. DORR, University of Michigan. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940, pp. xi, 626, \$5.00.)

*Chapters in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin, including his Experiences in the Carolinas and Building of the Larkin House at Monterey, from his Original Manuscripts.* Edited and with an Introduction and Notes by ROBERT J. PARKER and with a Foreword by Herbert Eugene Bolton. Reprinted from the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Volume XVI, nos. 1-4. (San Francisco, the Society, 1939, pp. 77, \$2.00.)

*Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School.* Compiled by MARTHA B. CALDWELL. (Topeka, Kansas State Historical Society, 1939, pp. 120, 75 cents, with map \$1.00.)

*City Beginnings in Oklahoma Territory.* By JOHN ALLEY. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, pp. vii, 127, \$1.50.)

*Sutter: The Man and his Empire.* By JAMES PETER ZOLLINGER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xv, 374, \$3.50.) This entertaining and well-documented work makes trash of much that has been published about Sutter and his amazing career. It is the fruit of a number of years of exhaustive study, much of the data having been drawn from sources previously untapped. The author was born and educated in Switzerland, and his racial kinship to the adventurer has been of inestimable value in the preparation of the work. The real Sutter, a personality somewhat baffling to readers as well as to certain writers, is here delineated with dexterous skill, and a seemingly fictitious character is made real and understandable. The work is something more than a biography since it is also the depiction of a unique and fascinating period. The general style of the diction is clear and the movement brisk and spirited. There are, however, occasional lapses into awkward phrasing that denote a mother tongue other than English. The slips are few, but one wonders how the author happened repeatedly to misspell the name of so noted a soldier as General Stephen Watts Kearny and to transform Sir William Drummond Stewart into "Steward". To the present reviewer the high excellence of the book is marred by the author's unnecessarily abusive treatment of John C. Frémont. The controversy over this ill-starred soldier-explorer is a bitter one and doubtless, like that regarding Custer, will long persist. It ought, however, to be recognized that probably no one in the impossible situation in which Frémont found himself in California could have failed to blunder in one way or another. A good many informed persons are inclined to believe that the Pathmarker may have blundered less than any other person in his place would have done. W. J. GHENT.

*The Sacramento, River of Gold.* By JULIAN DANA. [The Rivers of America.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1939, pp. 294, \$2.50.) The Rivers of America series is frankly intended to be literary and folksy rather than staidly historical, and *The Sacramento*, like those that have preceded it, is cut to this comfortable Mother Hubbard pattern. As leisurely as the river in low water Mr. Dana winds through the country he loves, stopping at intervals to look at the red man's Penutian Empire, at the Spanish horsemen on expeditions that were half marauding, half exploratory, at Sutter's nascent agricultural kingdom which



never reached maturity because of the gold rush, at the miners, first with their pans and then with their giant monitors, then at the land coming into its own as the source of fruit and wheat and wine, and lastly at the steamboat days when the Sacramento ran a brief competition in picturesqueness with the Mississippi. There is little if any new grist here for the historian's mill, and the book will scarcely be suitable as reference material for the instructor seeking facts for his lectures; indeed much of Mr. Dana's account will seem trivial and discursive. Moreover, it is difficult to see how he ties up large segments of his story with his subject, the river. But in spite of these criticisms of the historian the book has the vigor and literary flavor that the series seeks, and it will be a joy to the reader who wishes to wander through the fields of northern California history unhampered by such preciousities as footnotes and superfluous dates.

LELAND D. BALDWIN.

*Peter Anthony Dey: Integrity in Public Service.* By JACK T. JOHNSON. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1939, pp. 246, \$2.00.) This biography has the merit of compiling a reasonable amount of otherwise unavailable information concerning a man who was both a prominent citizen of Iowa and a figure of some importance in Western railroad history. Other than that, there is not much that can be said for it. The tone of undiluted panegyric becomes oppressive long before the end of the volume, and the aspects of Dey's career that have more than a purely local interest are treated in a decidedly disappointing manner. Dey's activities as the first chief engineer of the Union Pacific, and particularly his disagreement with Durant over the Hoxie contract, are dealt with at considerable length, although there is nothing of importance in the account that cannot be found in one of the standard histories of the railroad. The two chapters on the Iowa Railroad Commission, of which Dey was a member from 1878 to 1894, except for one year, are vague and uninformative. We should like some tangible indication of the influence that the commission, and Dey in particular, had on Iowa's railroad structure. It is tantalizing to be told that in 1888 the commission was given "far-reaching powers" without being told specifically what those powers were and how it exercised them. The chapters on the building of the State Capitol, the settlement of the Iowa-Missouri boundary, the Iowa Historical Society, and others give the book an undoubted place in Iowa history; it is difficult to find any wider appeal in it.

JOHN B. RAE.

*From Oxcart to Airplane: A Biography of George H. Himes.* By MINNIE ROOF DEE. (Portland, Binforde and Mort, 1939, pp. 148, \$1.50.)

#### ARTICLES

JAMES M. MILLER. The Spiritual Force in Early Western Culture. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, July.

ELIZABETH COOMBS. Brief History of the Shaker Colony at South Union, Kentucky. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, July.

EDWARD C. O'REAR. Justice Thomas Todd [1765-1826]. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, Apr.

SAMUEL L. WILSON. Additional Notes on Matthew H. Jouett, Kentucky Portrait Painter [concl.]. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

WILLIAM ROUSE JILLSON. In Memory of Stephen Collins Foster, 1826-1864. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, Apr.

JAMES W. HENNING. Basil W. Duke, 1838-1916. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

RUPERT B. VANCE. Tennessee's War of the Roses. *Virginia Quar. Rev.*, Summer.

CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ. Gallipolis, Ohio: A Piece of Paris in the Wilderness. *National Hist. Mag.*, July.

- WILMOT A. KETCHAM. The Little Island [Galbraith in the bosom of Miami du Lac]. *Hist. Soc. Northwestern Ohio Quar. Bull.*, July.
- AARON COHN. City Manager Government in Toledo under P. R. *Ibid.*, Apr., July.
- VERDA BLOOMHUFF. Philip Van Ness Myers: Historian and Educator. *Ohio State Archaeol. and Hist. Soc. Museum Echoes*, July.
- ELLA PORTER GRIFFITH. Joshua Griffith: Pioneer Preacher. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Mar.
- ROSCOE R. LEAK. The Underground Railroad in Hendricks County. *Ibid.*
- WALTER B. HENDRICKSON. David Dale Owen and Indiana's First Geological Survey. *Ibid.*
- ROGER A. HURST. Courthouse Records—the Stuff of History. *Indiana Hist. Bull.*, June.
- KENNETH F. BROWNELL and HARLOW M. CHURCH. Streeterville Saga. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, June.
- GEORGE V. BOHMAN. A Poet's Mother: Sarah Snell Bryant in Illinois. *Ibid.*
- ROY STALLINGS. The Drama in Southern Illinois, 1865-1900. *Ibid.*
- STELLA M. DRUMM and CHARLES VAN RAVENSWAAY. The Old Court House. *Missouri Hist. Soc. Glimpses of the Past*, Jan.
- KATE L. GREGG. The History of Fort Osage. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, July.
- SAMUEL W. RAVENEL. Missouri Avenue and the Missouri State Lottery. *Ibid.*
- REX W. STRICKLAND. Miller County, Arkansas Territory: The Frontier that Men Forgot. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Mar., June.
- HORACE ADAMS. A Puritan's Wife on the Frontier [Mrs. Millicent De Blois Hunt, 1825-33]. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, June.
- HENRY J. MEYER. The Economic Structure of the Jewish Community in Detroit. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Apr.
- ERNEST W. CLEMENT. Jesse Clement: A Yankee Westernized. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, July.
- HUGH E. KELSO. The Extra Session of 1840. *Palimpsest*, July.
- WINFRED MCGUINN HOWARD. The Census of 1840. *Ibid.*, June.
- THOMAS E. TWEITO. The Osage Land Sale. *Ibid.*, May.
- JOHN ELY BRIGGS, Benjamin F. Shambaugh. *Ibid.*
- RUTH A. GALLAHER, Benjamin F. Shambaugh. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, July.
- WARREN W. COOKE. A Frontiersman in Northwestern Wisconsin [concl.], *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.
- Captain J. M. TURNER. Rafting on the Mississippi. *Ibid.*
- J. J. SCHLICHER. The Division Fight in Waukesha County. *Ibid.*
- BERTHA L. HEILBRON. A Pioneer Artist [Eastman Johnson] on Lake Superior. *Minnesota Hist.*, June.
- RODNEY C. LOEHR. Business History Material in the Minnesota Historical Society. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, Apr.
- Sister M. ILDEFONSE WAGNER. Manners and Customs of the German-Russian Settlers. *Aerend*, Fall (1939).
- EDGAR LANGSDORF. Jim Lane and the Frontier Guard. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Feb.
- JAMES C. MALIN. Identification of the Stranger at the Pottawatomie Massacre. *Ibid.*
- MIRIAM STANLEY CARLETON-SQUIRES. Music of Pioneer Days in Nebraska. *Nebraska Hist.*, Jan.
- Colorado Writers' Project. Colorado Place Names (C). *Colorado Mag.*, July.
- VERNA WEST SYKES. Pioneer Life in the San Luis Valley. *Ibid.*
- JOSEPH SCHAFER. Thomas James Walsh: A Wisconsin Gift to Montana. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.
- ROBERT D. HANESWORTH. History of Cheyenne Frontier Days. *An. Wyoming*, July.
- VICTOR H. COHEN. James Bridger's Claims. *Ibid.*
- [The Editor]. Memorial to the Members of the Constitutional Convention of Wyoming [cont.]. *Ibid.*
- WILLIAM E. CHAPLIN. Reminiscences of a Member of the Constitutional Convention. *Ibid.*
- HARRY B. HENDERSON, SR. Governors of the State of Wyoming, III, IV [DeForest Richards, 1899-1903; Fenimore Chatterton, 1903-1905; Bryant B. Brooks, 1905-1911;

- Joseph M. Carey, 1911-1915; John B. Kendrick, 1915-1917; Frank L. Houx, 1917-1919; Robert D. Carey, 1919-1923; William B. Ross, 1923-1924]. *Ibid.*, Apr., July.
- BERLIN B. CHAPMAN. Settlers on the Neutral Strip. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Mar.
- WILLIAM OMER FOSTER. The Career of Montfort Stokes in Oklahoma. *Ibid.*
- ELSIE CADY GLEASON. Richard Briggs Quinn. *Ibid.*, June.
- LOREN N. BROWN. The Establishment of the Dawes Commission for Indian Territory. *Ibid.*
- FRANCE V. SCHOLES. Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 [cont.]. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, July.
- RALPH H. OGLE. Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886 [concl.]. *Ibid.*
- CLIFFORD M. DRURY. The Beginnings of the Presbyterian Church on the Pacific Coast. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
- JOHN T. GANOE. The Pacific Far West One Generation after the Frontier. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE TAYS. Frémont had no Secret Instructions. *Ibid.*
- HENRY R. WAGNER. Commercial Printers of San Francisco from 1851 to 1880. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, XXXIII (1939).
- RUFUS KAY WYLLYS. Henry A. Crabb—A Tragedy of the Sonora Frontier. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
- ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER. Culture of the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, June.
- ELERS KOCH. Lewis and Clark Route retraced across the Bitterroots. *Ibid.*
- ANNA JERZYK. Winship Settlement in 1810 was Oregon's Jamestown. *Ibid.*
- JAMES W. MANNING. Literacy on the Oregon Trail: Books across the Plains. *Ibid.*

## DOCUMENTS

- SYLVIA PETTIT WELCH. Six Letters by Pioneer John McKinney, and Other Data bearing on his Life. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr.
- OTTO H. ROTHERT. John D. Shane's Interview with Pioneer John Hedge, Bourbon County. *Ibid.*, July.
- MARY E. BRENT ROBERTS. Memories of Life on a Farm, Hart County, Kentucky, in the Early Sixties (with a foreword by her daughter, Elizabeth Madox Roberts. *Ibid.*
- A Trip from Fort Wayne to Fort Dearborn in 1809 [letter of 1839]. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Mar.
- PAUL M. ANGLE. The Story of an Ordinary Man [letters of William H. Tebbetts, 1853-62]. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, June.
- Gleanings from the Note Book of the Itinerating Editor (Jesse Clement) [1858-59]. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, July.
- Letters of Charles Richard Van Hise [cont.]. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, June.
- THEODORE C. BLEGEN. Two Missionaries in the Sioux Country: The Narrative of Samuel W. Pond. *Minnesota Hist.*, June.
- GRACE LEE NUTE. A British Legal Case and Old Grand Portage. *Ibid.*
- Letters of Samuel J. Reader, 1861-1863: Pioneer of Soldier Township, Shawnee County. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Feb.
- A. L. Runyon's Letters from the Nineteenth Kansas Regiment [1868-1869]. *Ibid.*
- History of Wyoming . . . by C. G. Coutant . . . chs. iv-vii. *An. Wyoming*, Apr., July.
- HOWARD B. LOTT. Diary of Major Wise, an Englishman: Hunting Trip in Powder River Country in 1880. *Ibid.*, Apr.
- LOUISE WHITMAN. Educational History in and about Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1839-1939. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Mar.

## LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

*Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in the University of Texas Library.*  
 Edited for the University of Texas and the Committee on Latin American  
 Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies by CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA  
 and JACK AUTREY DABBS. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. x,

217, \$3.00.) Scholars are to be congratulated on the existence of an institution like the University of Texas, with appreciation and funds enough to acquire the million pages of original manuscripts, transcripts, typed copies, and photostats through which this intelligently planned and carefully executed *Guide* will conduct researchers. The grouping is, wisely, geographical. A single small item, like No. 942, may represent hundreds or, like item No. 938, thousands of pages of typescripts necessarily miscellaneous in character, and even these hundreds and thousands of pages are merely a selection from a larger mass of original documents available in the great depositories where they were transcribed. The desire of the researcher in Spanish American history is for all the documents, all of each document, and nothing but the documents, originals preferred. But it is unattainable, and therefore he should accept with appreciation the services of such careful and competent editors as Messrs. Castañeda and Dabbs, who tell him that in the University of Texas documents are available to him—some in original and some in copy, some in selection and some in excerpt, but nevertheless available. This is gold; and when he has whetted his cupidity with use of it, what prevents him from mining his own from the original lodes?

I. A. WRIGHT.

*Man of Glory: Simón Bolívar.* By THOMAS ROURKE. (New York, William Morrow, 1939, pp. xiii, 385, \$3.50.) This volume by the author of *Gómez, Tyrant of the Andes* is the most recent of several popular biographies of Simón Bolívar in English. Mr. Rourke's purpose in writing it, he says in his preface, was to try to secure in the United States a wide knowledge of Bolívar and "to bring the reader a clear conception of that sympathy toward dictatorships which has always been inherent in Latin Americans, and thus to warn him how very formidable that danger is in the countries south of us". The book portrays Bolívar as both a "Liberator" and a seeker after fame—as a cross between a George Washington and a Napoleon Bonaparte—and it describes vividly how he died in poverty and obscurity, feared, despised, and rejected by the leaders of the nations which he had freed from Spanish oppression. Hence the volume might well give pause to would-be savior dictators and also to Americans who yearn to live under despotic rule. Besides, it is a good biography. It seems to be based upon more extensive research than any other life of the Liberator in English, and it carries an impressive bibliography but lacks footnote citation of authorities: it is objective and critical in treatment, is written in Rourke's easy style, and is decidedly readable. Though the author admires Bolívar for his daring and successful revolutionary leadership and for his efforts to foster Latin-American progress—through his programs for popular education and internal improvements, his elaborate, unused, republican constitution, and the congress held at Panama—yet he frankly shows that Bolívar was an actor and an exhibitionist, lured by desire for glory and still more glory. Though the Liberator greatly loved South America, he seems to have cared even more for popular admiration and public acclaim.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

*The Mexican Revolution of Ayutla, 1854-1855: An Analysis of the Evolution and Destruction of Santa Anna's Last Dictatorship.* By RICHARD A. JOHNSON. [Augustana Library Publications.] (Rock Island, Augustana College Library, 1939, pp. 125, \$1.50.) The author points out in his preface that this dissertation is a treatment of the highly specialized topic of the "destructive" period of the revolution of Ayutla. Consequently, no great effort is made to interpret the dictatorship that led to the revolution or to consider the "constructive" period that followed. A mass of source material is handled effectively and so as to

command consideration from later students in the field, even though they may become exasperated when they try to use the footnote references provided. For instance, starting on page 47 are forty-six consecutive paragraphs each of which, with one exception, is followed by a single footnote that carries massed references for all the materials used. For the nonspecialist reader some further classification of the bibliography of little-known Mexican items would be of value. A sketch map would also be a great help in following the military activities of chapter iv. In general, it may be said that one finds here a real effort to understand and present an exceedingly difficult and confused phase of Mexican history. Some will feel, however, that the author has missed something of the psychology of the Mexican people of the middle nineteenth century in his effort to find method, principles, and organized group action (see pp. 20, 42-43, 70) in the activities of such men as Antonio López de Santa Anna and even Ignacio Comonfort. This effort leads to such naïve statements as the one introducing a footnote on page 38, "There were only four [!] uprisings of any importance during 1853", and ignores much of the spontaneity and unpredictability of Mexican life which caused leaders to render lip service to custom in their formal *pronunciamientos* but left most of them exceedingly temperamental, individualistic, and essentially opportunists rather than organizers.

W. H. CALLCOTT.

*Sarmiento: Cincuentenario de su muerte.* Five volumes. (Buenos Aires, Comisión Nacional de Homenaje a Sarmiento, 1939, 1939, 1938, 1939, 1939, pp. xv, 600, 446, 445, 243, 468.) Among the literary and political giants who played important roles in the Argentine nation during a critical period of its history was Domingo F. Sarmiento. In accordance with a decree of President Ortiz dated May 31, 1938, the five volumes here noticed were printed to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Sarmiento's death, which took place in Asunción on September 11, 1888. As Sarmiento was not only a litterateur and a statesman but also an educator, these volumes further illuminate his activities as a pedagogue. Volume I of this collection contains addresses and articles praising his labors which were made public in Argentina. The second volume contains tributes to Sarmiento which were made in other American countries and in Europe. In addition to a brief but suggestive biographical sketch, Volume III reprints choice extracts from the varied and voluminous *Obras de D. F. Sarmiento* beginning with an ephemeral journal called *El Zonda* published in San Juan in July, 1839, and ending with his last discourse delivered in Asunción on May 3, 1887. The fourth volume is made up of various writings of this great Argentine educator concerning *Bibliotecas populares*. Volume V contains additional appreciations of Sarmiento in Argentina and elsewhere, a bibliography of him and of his works, and articles concerning certain phases of his career. Among the illustrations in Volumes III and V are several dealing with one or another phase of Sarmiento's life.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

*Pensamiento y Acción.* By Dr. JUAN FRANCISCO TORRENT, Gobernador de la Provincia de Corrientes, 1935-1939. (Corrientes, privately published, 1939, pp. 314.)

#### ARTICLES

GUIDO DESPRADEL BATISTA. Apuntes sobre arqueología quisqueyana. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Apr.

GUSTAVO ADOLFO MEJÍA RICART. El descubrimiento y la conquista. *Ibid.*, May.

HENRY R. WAGNER. Early Ascents of Popocatepetl by the Conquistadores. *Sierra Club Bull.*, Feb.

- BAILEY W. DIFFIE. Estimates of Potosí Mineral Production, 1545-1555. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- P. LEÓN LOPETEGUI, S. I. Padre José de Acosta. *Arch. Hist. Soc. Iesu*, Jan.
- KARL SAPPER. Die Dominikanerprovinz Vera Paz in Guatemala als Vorbild der südamerikanischen Missionstaten. *Ibero-Am. Arch.*, Oct., 1939.
- LUIS R. GUERRA. Impresiones sobre el arte arquitectónico colonial. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Feb.
- LUIS ALBERTO SÁNCHEZ. Un Villon criollo [the Peruvian Juan del Valle Caviedes]. *Rev. Ibero-Am.*, Apr.
- FRANCISCO RIVAS VICUÑA. Guerras de Bolívar. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.*, Jan.
- VICENTE LECUNA. La Guerra en Venezuela en 1819. *Ibid.*
- J. MANUEL ESPINOSA. The Rôle of Catholic Culture in Uruguay. *Catholic Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
- ELIZABETH W. LOUGHRAN. The Rôle of Catholic Culture in Bolivia. *Ibid.*
- WALTER M. LANGFORD. The Rôle of Catholic Culture in Argentina. *Ibid.*
- JOSÉ MARÍA CHACÓN Y CALVO. Las constantes de la vida de Heredia. *Rev. Ibero-Am.*, Apr.
- INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES HISTÓRICAS. Periodo de la reincorporación a España. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Feb.
- WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON. The Tripartite Treaty of London [1861]. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- DESMOND HOLDRIDGE. Toledo: A Tropical Refugee Settlement in British Honduras. *Geograph. Rev.*, July.
- FÉLIX LIZASO. José Martí en Zaragoza. *Rev. Ibero-Am.*, Apr.
- CARL HEINRICH HUNSCH. Richard Wagner und Brasilien. *Ibero-Am. Arch.*, Oct., 1939.
- J. FRED RIPPY. Justo Rufino Barrios and the Nicaraguan Canal. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- DUVON C. CORBITT. Señor Joaquín Llaverías and the Archivo Nacional de Cuba. *Ibid.*
- AMÉRICO CASTRO. Sobre la relación entre ambas Américas. *Rev. Ibero-Am.*, Apr.
- MAURICIO MAGDALENO. Tres libros de esencia americana. *Ibid.*
- GUSTAVO ADOLFO MEJÍA RICART. El significado histórico del 23 de Febrero del 1930. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Apr.
- SAMUEL PUTNAM. The Brazilian Social Novel (1935-1940). *Inter-Am. Quar.*, Apr.
- RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE. Bibliografía Mexicana, 1937-1938 [cont.]. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, May.
- ROLAND SHARP. Peru's Amazonian Frontier. *Inter-Am. Quar.*, Apr.
- AGUSTÍN EDWARDS. Technical Education in Chile. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE WYTHE. Outlook for Latin American Industry. *Ibid.*
- A. MÉTRAUX. Paganism and Christianity among the Bolivian Indians. *Ibid.*
- RAFAEL PICÓ. Puerto Rico: Economic "Sore Spot." *Ibid.*
- ROBERT C. SMITH. Latin American Painting comes into its Own. *Ibid.*, July.
- WALDO G. LELAND. North American Cultural Institutes in South America. *Ibid.*
- RUSSEL H. FITZGIBBON. "Continuismo" in Central America and the Caribbean. *Ibid.*
- PRICE-MARS. Social Castes and Social Problems in Haiti. *Ibid.*
- GRACE EATON SIMPSON. Peasant Songs and Dances of Northern Haiti. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, Apr.
- THACHER WINSLOW. Education for Mexican Life. *Inter-Am. Quar.*, July.

#### DOCUMENTS

- Documentos inéditos para la historia de Bolívar. *Bol. Acad. Nac. Hist.*, Jan.
- Copiadores del Libertador. *Ibid.*
- EMILIO RODRÍGUEZ DEMORIZI. La revolución de los Alcarrizos. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Nac.* (Ciudad Trujillo), Apr.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The office of the Association has been moved from 740 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., to the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274.

The Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting will be held at the Pennsylvania Hotel, New York City, on December 27, 28, and 30. Most of the sessions will take place at the Hotel Pennsylvania; a few will be held at the nearby Hotel McAlpin, and members are also invited to attend special sessions on the intervening Sunday at Fordham University and at the New-York Historical Society. In general, however, no sessions are scheduled for Sunday. Institutions of special interest to historians, including the Cloisters and the Morgan Library, may be visited. The usual luncheon and dinner conferences will be provided for, and joint sessions with affiliated societies have been arranged.

The program will be devoted in the main to three topics: the historical profession, war and society, and social groups, classes, institutions, ideas, and geographical areas that have received little or no attention in the programs of the Association during the past dozen years. In some instances a large general session will be followed by round-table discussions of special aspects of the problem. In other instances the leading paper to be discussed at a session will be made available in mimeographed form in advance to members planning to attend the session, in order that the discussion of the paper may begin at the outset of the meeting. Copies of the following papers may be obtained, at the cost of twenty-five cents each, by writing to Thomas Cochran, Washington Square College, New York University: "The Challenge of Historical Materials" by Richard Morris; "Medieval Representation in Roman and Canon Law" by Gaines Post; "The Impact of the Doctrine of Evolution on American Thought, 1859-1900" by Bert James Loewenberg; "New Light on the Renaissance" by Wallace Ferguson; and "The Training of Graduate Students in History" by A. Howard Meneely. Professor Sidney Packard of Smith College has prepared an analysis of the returns of a questionnaire addressed to over one hundred colleges regarding the introductory historical course. This paper, which will be discussed by representatives of the varying types of introductory course, may be obtained for twenty-five cents from Professor Packard, Northampton, Massachusetts. Members planning to attend this session may also wish to read Professor Packard's article on the introductory course, which will appear in the December number of *Social Education*.



Among the special topics to be discussed are Russian historiography, regional influences on American historiography, the historian and "the larger public", propaganda, hysteria and the Peloponnesian War, war and medieval society, war and society in the seventeenth century, war and the transition from feudal to industrial society in Japan, the democratization of war, war and industrial society in twentieth century Europe, the Peace Settlement of 1919 re-evaluated, Scandinavia and the doctrine of permanent neutrality, the American doctrine of isolation, the Romantic movement in Western Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, the emergence of the masses as a problem of statesmanship in Great Britain, 1820-50, the business cycle and the historian, Australasia, some aspects of the history of women, the Negro in the history of the United States, Latin America and the Eighteenth Century Enlightenment, the "demagogue" in Southern history, class and the American labor movement, and historical New York.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee announces the publication of the first volume in the Beveridge Memorial Monograph Series, Ethyn W. Kirby's biography of George Keith. The committee will receive during or before the first week in January monographs to be considered for publication in 1941. Such monographs should be sent to Miss Patty W. Washington, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C. The examination of manuscripts by the committee will be facilitated if authors will consult Bertha E. Josephson's *Manual of Style*, to be published this month by D. Appleton-Century Company, to insure presentation of manuscripts in proper form.

FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN ON REORGANIZATION  
AND POLICY, DECEMBER 29, 1939

The Committee of Ten on Reorganization and Policy, appointed during the summer of 1938 by Presidents Ford and Paxson and continued for a year by action of the Association at its last regular meeting, is now prepared to make a final report. Since last December the chairman of the Committee has visited the Washington, Philadelphia, and New York offices of the Association, and has talked over the problems of the Association with most of its permanent officers, and with many other interested individuals. Four members of the Committee, Professors Anderson, Pierce, Pratt, and Hicks, and three of the officers, the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Managing Editor of the *Review*, conferred informally at Branford, Connecticut, parts of two days, August 13-14, 1939. Many letters have been exchanged, and many documents have been examined. The members of the Committee are of the opinion that they could learn little of significance by prolonging their investigations further.

In general the preliminary report presented a year ago still expresses the sentiments of the Committee. To the best of our knowledge the Association

is in no immediate danger of insolvency. Its officers are competent and interested. Its meetings are well attended. Its usefulness to the cause of history is unquestioned.

Undoubtedly the Executive Secretary has become the most important officer of the Association. His duties, as phrased by C. A. Beard in 1932, are as follows:

Under the direction of the Council and the Executive Committee, the Executive Secretary shall promote historical scholarship in America through the agencies of the Association. He shall exercise general oversight over the affairs of the Association, supervise the work of its committees, formulate policies for presentation to the Council, execute its policies, and perform all duties not specifically within the sphere of other officers.

While the Committee is convinced that the services of such an officer have become indispensable to the Association, it is equally convinced that the usefulness of the Executive Secretary is definitely impaired by his residence outside the city of Washington. It is in this city that, according to the Act of Incorporation under which we operate, the Association is required to have its principal office. Here the Association has held, and will doubtless continue to hold, a greater number of its annual meetings than are held in any other city. Also, it is to Washington, more than to any other city in America, that scholars come in their search for historical materials. One of the arguments in favor of creating the office of Executive Secretary, presented by the Committee on Policy which reported to the Council on November 29, 1929, was that the Executive Secretary's office "would be a service station for members of the Association arriving in Washington to undertake research." Obviously because it is situated outside Washington, the office has never functioned in any such way.

The need of a paid executive officer in Washington is further borne out by the way in which duties that ordinarily should fall to the Executive Secretary have been thrust upon the Treasurer of the Association, who happens to be a resident of Washington. In Secretary Read's report of March 25, 1937, to the members of the Executive Committee he states: "The only part of the business of the Association over which he (the Executive Secretary) does not attempt to exercise systematic oversight is the office of the Treasurer and the general routine of the Washington office. In practice if not in theory, the Washington office has been regarded as the bailiwick of the Treasurer." The Treasurer, as matters now stand, although an unpaid officer, must not only supervise the Washington office, but must act as general utility man for the Association in Washington. There is real danger that the present Treasurer will be unwilling to retain much longer an office that makes such heavy inroads upon his time. If, as was formerly the case, the Treasurer were not an active member of the historical profession, perhaps he would not be called upon so frequently for help. The fact that he is so

called upon seems to indicate the clear need for an executive officer resident in Washington who can be available for such calls and can supervise all of the work of the Association and not just the major part of it.

There is another important factor to be taken into consideration. Many individuals over a long period of time have been interested in the possibility of a permanent "home" for the Association in Washington. Indeed, our lack of some visible headquarters to which to point when soliciting funds for an endowment has been a distinct handicap. Men with money to give are often influenced by what they can *see* as well as by what they are told, and only by diligent search or by customary familiarity can any of the several headquarters of the Association be discovered. In the past the Council has opposed on financial grounds the acquisition of property by the Association in Washington. We believe, however, that the space needed for our headquarters might be obtained from some governmental agency, or perhaps from one of Washington's educational institutions, it being well understood that the Association must never commit itself to obligations for maintenance above its reasonable ability to pay. We are convinced that in some way a suitable permanent headquarters for the Association must be found in Washington, and we are happy to note that friends of the Association in the national capital are already working toward this goal. If physical headquarters for the Association are to be obtained in Washington, it follows logically that the offices of the Association should also be concentrated there as far as possible.

The Committee wishes to record its deep appreciation of the excellent work done by the present Executive Secretary. His devotion to the Association has led him to give a far greater proportion of his time to its work than the Association has ever had any right to expect. His facility in handling the multitude of administrative details that must pass over his desk is not now and never has been open to question by those who have watched him work. His valiant efforts to enlarge the usefulness of history for the benefit of the public at large deserve the highest commendation. It is our misfortune that he is not a resident of the national capital. We believe, however, that the need of an executive officer resident in Washington is so insistent that we feel obliged to advise the Executive Council to begin at once the search for such a man. We sincerely hope that the present Executive Secretary will continue to guide the affairs of the Association with his customary skill until a competent successor, who is a resident of Washington or is willing to make Washington his residence, can be found.

Your committee is convinced that the anomalous position in which the Secretary of the Association has been placed by the creation of the office of Executive Secretary should be corrected. Formerly the Secretary was a paid officer whose duties included some of the duties now discharged by the Executive Secretary. At the moment the office remains, but the greater part of the duties attached to it have disappeared. This is no fault of the Secre-

tary, a man whom we all honor and trust, but of the careless reconstruction of the constitution. It has been said that the Secretary, as a more or less permanent member of the Executive Council and the Executive Committee, provides a useful element of continuity to both bodies. Your committee believes, however, that this purpose could be equally well served by making the Executive Secretary a member, *ex-officio*, of both the Executive Council and the Executive Committee, and by dropping the office of Secretary altogether. We are authorized to say that Secretary Perkins concurs in this recommendation.

A similar anomaly exists in the case of the Editor. This officer is not, as one might at first suppose, the Editor of the *Review*. His duties are concerned mainly with the editing of the *Annual Report* and, more particularly, with the editing of the *Proceedings*. Inasmuch as the printing of these documents is done at Government expense and at the Government Printing Office in Washington, the need of a supervisor resident in Washington seems clear. But all such work, we believe, could best be discharged through the office of the Executive Secretary, were that office only in Washington rather than elsewhere. Your committee, therefore, recommends that if and when the Executive Secretary becomes a resident of Washington the office of Editor be abolished, and the duties of that office be attached to the office of the Executive Secretary.

In this connection, we should like to call the attention of the Association to the precarious financial condition of the valuable series, *Writings on American History*, now sponsored by the Association and edited by Grace Gardner Griffin. There is general agreement, we believe, that the *Writings* should be continued, but the death of Dr. Jameson robbed the publication of a devoted friend whose ability to collect funds for historical purposes will not soon be duplicated. At the end of August, 1939, payments to Miss Griffin's force were in arrears about \$700.00. Your committee urgently advises the Council to take whatever steps it deems necessary to maintain the prompt and continued publication of this series.

In our preliminary report, presented a year ago, we pointed out the necessity of keeping the small *ad interim* Executive Committee, which holds fairly frequent meetings, subordinate to the larger Executive Council, which meets only once or twice a year. As now constituted, the Executive Committee consists of not more than six members of whom two, the Secretary and the Treasurer, are members *ex-officio*, and of whom two others need not be members of the Council at all. In other words, the Executive Committee need not include, and up to a year ago did not in practice include, more than two ordinary councilmen. The protest a year ago of the Committee of Ten against choosing outsiders to be members of the Executive Committee led to a discontinuance of that practice, although the constitutional provision permitting it still remains. We believe that the Con-

stitution should be amended in such a way as to eliminate the objectionable provision. It is clear, of course, that the real reason for this provision is geographic and pecuniary; the meetings of the Executive Committee must be held in the East, and the cost of bringing too many western members to attend them is prohibitive. We believe that careful attention to this matter by the nominating committee would insure that at least three or four of the councilmen should be resident in the New York, Philadelphia, Washington area. Attention may be called also to the fact that ex-presidents are councilmen for life, and that from among them executive committeemen might occasionally be chosen.

The Committee of Ten withholds comment upon the newly devised machinery for the election of councilmen and members of the nominating committee. The new system should be given a fair trial. We believe, however, that some suggestions to future nominating committees are in order. It might be well, for example, to make a practice of placing on the slate of nominees for the Committee on Nominations the names of the two retiring members of the Executive Council. Conceivably neither of them might be elected, but in all probability at least one of them would be. An ex-councilman should be in excellent position to advise other members of the nominating committee of the needs and traditions of the Association. He would have a care, for example, that the list of nominees for councilmen would include the names of men who could be used to serve on the Executive Committee. We do not believe that our recommendation should be made a part of the Constitution, but we do believe that it is worthy of consideration by successive nominating committees.

We are already on record as opposed to contest elections for the second vice-presidency, a position that is primarily an honor rather than an office. We are also of the opinion that nominating committees should not take too seriously the straw ballots that come to them each year. In the past well-meaning but ill-advised admirers of a favorite professor have occasionally embarrassed both the committee and their mentor by zealously soliciting votes for their candidate. Almost invariably, given time, the honor would have come unsolicited to the individual whose claims were thus promoted, and he would have been spared the unpleasant suspicion that the committee was forced into nominating him against its will. We believe that the nominating committee should use its own best judgment in the making of nominations, and further, that whenever it is apparent that an organized effort is being made to put a certain candidate over, the number of straw votes cast for such a candidate should be disregarded. We are skeptical as to the wisdom of any of the numerous plans for direct nomination of Association officers. We still believe, as we stated in our preliminary report, that the selection of a representative nominating committee, a committee that will not hesitate to pit its judgment from time to time against a straw ballot, is the best insurance we can have against unfortunate choices.

In our preliminary report we admitted the existence of a certain amount of criticism leveled at the *American Historical Review*, and recognized the examination of *Review* policy as a part of our assignment. We are of the opinion that, in general, the present editorship and management of the *Review* maintain admirably the high standards set by J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, D. C. Munro, and Henry E. Bourne. The charge that the *Review* is not a popular journal of history can be easily substantiated. It was never meant to be that kind of magazine. In the words of the present editor, the policy of the *Review* has ever been "to publish only such articles as throw light upon what had been dark before, or suggest new and fruitful fields of historical study, or advance significant new historical interpretations. Being essentially a magazine for students of history, it leaves popularizations, however brilliant, to others." We believe that somewhere the highest standards of craftsmanship must be maintained; that somehow the importance of painstaking historical accuracy must be promoted. The *Review* is a professional journal intended primarily for the use of readers who are already well informed regarding history. It would be almost as absurd to try to popularize it as to try to popularize a medical journal intended for the use of physicians. With the idea of a popular magazine of history, either within or without the American Historical Association, we have no quarrel whatever. But we should be sorry indeed to see the Editor of the *Review* depart from the sound policy he has so admirably stated.

Other criticisms of the *Review* that have come to our attention are extremely diverse and contradictory. From the devotees of European history comes the complaint that too much attention is given to American history; from the devotees of American history, the exact reverse. Actually, the number of leading articles in recent years has been quite evenly divided between the two. Some critics say that fewer articles of an interpretative nature should be printed, and more attention given to the immediate results of original research; others complain of the overemphasis upon the spadework of neophytes and urge that articles "written by youngsters" should be barred. While all agree that the book review section is of fundamental importance, some say that all the literature of history should be given careful consideration, while others maintain that in an American journal only the writings of American authors should be reviewed. Some say that the review section should be expanded to include the entire magazine, and to exclude every other type of article; others, that fewer books should be reviewed, and more books, regardless of the protests of authors and publishers, merely listed.

Out of this confusion of criticism it is difficult to emerge with anything more than another opinion. It seems obvious that not every article published by the *Review* will interest every reader, but we do see a need for more articles of general rather than specialized interest. Such articles, in all probability, can be obtained only by solicitation, and we urge the Editor to seek for what he wishes to publish as well as to select from such voluntary offer-

ings as come his way. Perhaps more space for major articles could be obtained by omitting the section designated as "Documents", except when source fragments of unusual importance come to light, and by greatly compressing official or routine material, such, for example, as is contained in the Annual Report of the Executive Secretary, which in the April, 1939, number ran to fifteen pages. On the matter of book reviews, a division of labor between the *American Historical Review* and other historical journals, such as *Speculum*, the *Journal of Modern History*, and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, might well be attempted. Obviously the world's output of historical literature is fast becoming too extensive for any one journal to review it all. With fewer books reviewed and more merely listed, probably reviews could be longer and correspondingly more adequate. The selection of reviewers will always evoke criticism, but the Editor will do well to make sure that every book assigned is sent to a specialist in the field covered, with due attention to the younger men in the profession, and to the Westerners, some of whom are sensitive on this subject. No doubt the Editor will find the forthcoming guide to historical work now in progress among members of the Association a valuable aid in determining the exact interest of prospective reviewers. Promptness in the discharge of a reviewing assignment should be encouraged and rewarded; dilatory reviewers should be stricken from the Editor's list.

We believe that the close connection between the *American Historical Review* and the American Historical Association ought to be emphasized in some specific way. To this end we recommend that the Managing Editor of the *Review* be listed as one of the officers of the Association, and be made an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Council, with full voting privileges. His presence at Council meetings should prove to be a valuable means of maintaining close co-operation between the governing body of the Association and the management of the *Review*.

We have received several suggestions urging a revision of the method by which the Constitution of the Association may be amended. At present, amendments may be adopted at any business meeting provided only that notice of such an amendment shall have been given at the previous annual meeting, or that the proposed amendment shall have received the approval of the Council. This provision dates back to the formation of the Association in 1884, and it was no doubt adequate at that time. Now, however, it is doubtful whether a single business meeting, attended by only a handful of members, should be trusted with the right to make far-reaching and revolutionary changes. We advocate a tightening-up of the amending process in such a way as to require that amendments may be proposed, either by the Council or by a majority vote of a regular business session, and that they may then be adopted by a majority vote of the next business session, provided always that the substance of the proposed amendment or amendments



shall have been mailed to the membership of the Association not less than twenty days preceding the date of the business session at which the final vote is to be taken. We are well aware of the fact that all too few members of the Association attend the annual meetings, but we believe that, if due notice of proposed constitutional changes were given, a representative attendance could be obtained. The alternative system of voting by mail would result, we fear, either in making amendments impossible because of light voting, or in promoting rather than restricting the activity of pressure groups.

With reference to the problem of the Pacific Coast Branch, we are willing to shade our report of a year ago enough to recommend that the Council continue the practice of appropriating a small sum each year to help pay the cost of the Branch meeting. While we make this suggestion primarily because of the conviction on the part of Branch members that a contract calling for such a subvention was entered into between the parent Association and the Branch when the latter was founded in 1903, we cannot fail to recognize the unsolvable geographic problem of the distance to the Pacific Coast, and we hope that the Pacific Coast Branch will continue to exist. We are opposed, however, to the formation of additional branches, or the further subdivision of the Association into semi-autonomous groups of any sort or kind.

Much criticism has been directed against the programs of our annual meetings, and some of it seems justified. Certainly many members prefer the good fellowship of the lounges and lobbies to attendance upon any of the numerous historical conferences. We doubt very much whether any sure cure for this situation can be found, but we should like to call the attention of the Association to a practice common in Europe, and among various scientific organizations in America, whereby papers, or at least abstracts of papers, are printed or mimeographed and distributed to interested members in advance of the meeting. Sometimes the papers are not even read at the meeting, but the time is given over instead to discussion from the floor. Possibly such a procedure, or at least an adaptation of it, could be tried out in a limited number of sessions. Another suggestion worth the making is the assurance of prompt publication after the meeting for all the superior papers. Just how such a result is to be achieved, however, is not entirely clear. Probably, too, better continuity should be established between succeeding program committees. Records of attendance at the various section meetings, for example, could be kept and passed along from year to year so that rooms would not so frequently be overcrowded or underfilled. We are already on record as favoring the holding of our annual meetings "in large cities, easily reached by railroads and highways, and provided with ample hotel accommodations." Out of every three meetings one might well be held in Chicago and one in Washington. We believe it imperative, also, that for the future

the annual business meeting of the Association should be held at a more auspicious time of day than four-thirty o'clock in the afternoon.

Your committee is submitting herewith a redraft of the Constitution designed to carry some of its recommendations into effect. It will be noted that we have incorporated most of the so-called by-laws into the Constitution proper. Whether these amendments are adopted or rejected is a matter for the Association to decide. In any event, we have finished our labors, and we now beg to be discharged.

*Summary of Proposed Constitutional Revisions*

Articles I, II, and III. Unchanged.

Article IV. Section 1, altered to eliminate the office of Secretary, to include the Executive Secretary and the Managing Editor of the *Review* as officers of the Association, and to make the appointment of an Editor discretionary with the Council.

Section 2, added to include Beard's definition of the duties of Executive Secretary.

Sections 3 and 4, to transfer from the by-laws the definition of duties of other officers, and the method of electing President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Treasurer.

Section 5, to charge the Council with the duty of electing all other constitutional officers for specific terms not to exceed three years. Present terms to expire December 31, 1940.

Section 6, includes provisions on presidential succession. Unchanged.

Article V. Section 1, adds the Executive Secretary and the Managing Editor of the *Review* to the membership of the Council.

Section 2, states functions of the Council—unchanged.

Section 3, membership of Executive Committee restricted to members of Council. Executive Secretary made member of the Executive Committee instead of the Secretary.

Article VI. Sections 1 and 2, transfer unchanged from the by-laws the provisions regarding the Nominating Committee and its work.

Article VII. Section 1, the Board of Trustees—unchanged.

Article VIII. Section 1, requires amendments to be proposed by a majority vote of any regular business meeting of the Association or by the Council, and to be circulated among the membership at least twenty days before the next business meeting, at which they may be adopted by a majority vote.

The Committee of Ten:

Frank M. Anderson, Dartmouth College  
Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University  
Theodore C. Blegen, U. of Minnesota  
James B. Hedges, Brown University  
Merrill M. Jensen, U. of Washington  
Frank J. Klingberg, U. C. L. A.  
Bessie L. Pierce, U. of Chicago  
Julius W. Pratt, U. of Buffalo  
Carl Wittke, Oberlin College  
J. D. Hicks, U. of Wisconsin (Chairman)

## OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: six portfolios of papers of the Read family, 1568 to 1906, chiefly correspondence of George Read (signer of the Declaration of Independence), John Meredith Read (jurist), and John Meredith Read, jr. (diplomat); additional copies of letters of George Washington, including five written to Gouverneur Morris, 1778 to 1792 (photostats); typewritten copy of letter from William H. Crawford to Captain James Hamilton, commenting on President Madison's message to Congress, January, 1810; photostat of page from *Livre d'Or* of the *Bibliothèque de la Ville* at Gand, containing entries for July-August, 1814, with signature of John Quincy Adams; twelve portfolios of additional papers of the Breckinridge family, 1750 to 1925, chiefly of William Campbell Preston Breckinridge, Desha Breckinridge, and Mary Curry Desha Breckinridge; microfilm copy of about 165 letters of Samuel F. B. Morse and other members of the Morse family, 1816 to 1869; photostats of two additional papers of Samuel F. B. Morse, 1844, relating to the opening of telegraphic service from Washington to Baltimore; two papers of the Marquis de Lafayette, dealing with the sale of his Florida lands, 1825 and undated; two boxes of papers of George Washington Ewing I, and George Washington Ewing II (businessmen), 1829-1910; photostats of two additional Benjamin Harrison letters, 1854 and 1855; one box of letters and diaries of Bela Taylor St. John (soldier, 46th Illinois Volunteer Infantry), 1861 to 1866; letter from Wade Hampton to E. Ham, 1877, refuting charges made in an article in the *New York Times*; three additional portfolios of papers, two volumes of scrapbooks, and other material of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1894 to 1901; two volumes of newspaper clippings relating to Robert G. Ingersoll, 1895; additions to the Woodrow Wilson Collection, including microfilm copies of Wilson's letters to Edwin Anderson Alderman and Richard Heath Dabney, 1897 to 1922 (92); to Cyrus Hall McCormick and others, 1891 to 1924 (64); to Edward W. Bok, 1900 to 1929 (37).

National defense and wartime problems are reflected in various groups of records that have recently been received by the National Archives, including the records of the Adjutant and Inspector's Department and the Quartermaster's Department of the Marine Corps, 1798-1930; photographic negatives of naval vessels in process of construction, testing, and repair, 1860-1917; accounting records concerning the Civil War loans of 1861; the Justice Department's files pertaining to the World War, 1914-39; the records of the Alien Property Custodian's office, 1917-34, and of its successor, the Alien Property Bureau of the Justice Department, 1934-38; the Signal Corps' collection of motion pictures portraying activities of the American expeditionary forces and other events at home and abroad during the World War;

and material relating to a grain-trade investigation by the former Bureau of Markets and the Federal Trade Commission, 1918. Important groups of records pertaining to the public lands have recently been transferred to the Archives. These include correspondence of surveyors general in the Old Northwest, 1797-1856; the "miscellaneous" letters received by the General Land Office, 1805-1909; and the records of the Division of Lands and Railroads of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1907. Research materials relating to problems of public administration are to be found in other recent accessions of the Archives. Among these are the records of the former Federal Co-ordinating Service, 1921-33, including records of its ten co-ordinating boards and seven field districts; inspectors' reports relating to the administration of U. S. diplomatic and consular posts, 1906-39; and records pertaining to the purchase of sites and the construction, repair, alteration, equipment, and maintenance of Federal buildings, 1850-1934. Among other records recently received by the Archives are the accounting records concerning the bond issues for the construction of the Pacific railroads, 1862-78; maps of railroads, oil pipelines, and telegraph lines, 1878-1913, used by the Justice Department in connection with investigations and litigation; the general files of the former Bureau of Soils, 1918-27; and the records of the Special Committee of the Senate to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, 1938-39. "What Records Shall We Preserve?", a paper by Philip C. Brooks, has been reproduced as No. 9 of the *Staff Information Circulars* of the National Archives (pp. 14).

Workers of the Historical Records Survey have found a number of important early North Carolina records, including two manuscript volumes containing the proceedings of the general court of the province from July 31, 1713, to March 31, 1730, and a volume of the original minutes of the governor's council, of which only extracts are printed in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*.

The 250th anniversary of the founding of the papermaking industry in America at Germantown, Pennsylvania, by William Rittenhouse in 1690, was celebrated on July 1 ("William Rittenhouse Day") under the auspices of the National Genealogical Society of Washington, D. C., the American Institute of Graphic Arts of New York, the 250th Anniversary Committee of Roxborough-Manayunk-Wissahickon, Philadelphia, and the papermaking industry. The exercises were held on Paper Mill Run, a branch of the historic Wissahickon Creek, on the approximate site of the first mill. A feature of the celebration was the actual making of paper by the methods employed by the Rittenhouses. The Library of Congress has prepared an interesting exhibit on the progress of paper manufacture in commemoration of William Rittenhouse's achievement.

The University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference was held from

September 16 to 20 as part of a program commemorating the two hundredth anniversary of the origin of the university. General sessions and symposia were scheduled in six general fields—fine arts, humanities, medical sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, and religion. Among the many American and foreign scholars who presented papers and addresses there were a goodly number of historians. The list included Arthur E. R. Boak, Arthur C. Cole, William Scott Ferguson, Dixon Ryan Fox, Howard L. Gray, Clarence H. Haring, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Arthur C. Howland, Charles H. McIlwain, Philip E. Mosely, Dana G. Munro, Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Richard H. Shryock.

In connection with the celebration in New Zealand this year of the centennial of the establishment of British rule the government of the Dominion has embarked upon an extensive and ambitious program of historical publication. A series of short volumes of Centennial Surveys, several of which have already been published, is designed to serve as a symposium of New Zealand history. There have also been published a historical Centennial Atlas and the first volume of a Dictionary of New Zealand biography. A special staff created by the Department of Internal Affairs is in charge of the editing and publication of the books sponsored by the government.

The Karnataka Historical Research Society, which publishes the *Karnataka Historical Review*, is celebrating its silver jubilee this year. It is proposed to publish as part of the celebration a series of works pertaining to Karnataka history and culture, three of which are already in press.

A program of interest both to the users of archives and historical manuscripts and to their custodians has been arranged for the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archivists, which will be held at Montgomery, Alabama, November 11 and 12, at the time of the dedication of the new Alabama Memorial Building, which houses the Department of Archives and History. Famous personalities revealed in archival records, the training of archivists, administrative history of governmental agencies in relation to archives, archival materials of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and agricultural records of the South are among the subjects scheduled by Dr. Lester J. Cappon, chairman of the program committee. Information concerning the meeting can be had from Mrs. Marie B. Owen, Director, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, who is chairman of the local arrangements committee. The dates have been arranged so that those who wish to attend this meeting and that of the Southern Historical Association at Charleston, South Carolina, November 7-9, may do so.

The last issue of the *Slavonic and East European Review* appeared in July, 1939. The editors, Professors Bernard Pares, R. W. Seton-Watson, and William J. Rose, announce that it has proved impossible to continue publica-

tion of the *Review* on normal lines during the present world crisis. "In order, however, to preserve a measure of continuity it was decided to publish a special *Slavonic Year-Book* avoiding the most acute controversies of the day, but throwing a certain light on their background. It is hoped to resume more normal conditions of publication as soon as possible." The first issue of the *Slavonic Year-Book* is listed as Volume XIX (1939-40) of the *Review*.

For the second time *Isis* has suffered from a German invasion of Belgium. When the journal was in its second year publication was suspended by the invasion of 1914. It was resumed after the World War, the editorial work being done in the United States and the printing in Brussels, later in Bruges. When Belgium was invaded last spring publication was again interrupted. From 1941 on *Isis* will be printed as well as edited in the United States.

The first issue of *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* came to our desk in July. This new journal, which is published by the Institute of Social Research, 429 West 117th Street, New York City, takes the place of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, the former organ of the institute, and this issue appears as number 3 of Volume VIII of the *Zeitschrift*. It is hoped that the journal in its new form will bring the institute into more direct contact with American academic life and thus serve its purpose of contributing to the integration of the social and cultural sciences. *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science* will be published three times a year. The subscription price is three dollars.

*Common Ground*, a new quarterly magazine, published by the Common Council for American Unity and edited by Louis Adamic, made its appearance in September. Its aim is to make Americans, whatever their racial or national antecedents, more intelligently aware of their common heritage and their common future. Some of its articles will be historical. Subscription rates are two dollars a year. Communications, contributions, and subscriptions should be addressed to *Common Ground*, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

A graduate course of lectures on early American painting is being given at the New-York Historical Society's building under the auspices of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. It marks a new departure in graduate instruction and should prove of particular value to students preparing for curatorial work in American museums. The lectures are given by Mr. William Sawitzky, who has long been a close student of the subject. Information regarding the course may be had by addressing Dr. Walter W. S. Cook at the Institute of Fine Arts, 17 East 80th Street, New York City.

## PERSONAL

William Gates, a graduate of the University of Virginia and a lifelong student of the Maya linguistic stock and especially of Spanish-Maya documentary material, died at the Johns Hopkins Hospital on April 24 at the age of seventy-six. For many years Mr. Gates was in the printing business at Cleveland, and after retiring some thirty years ago he moved to San Diego, where he was a member of the Theosophical colony of Madam Katharine Tingley at Point Loma. With Madam Tingley and other members of the Point Loma group he founded the School of Antiquity there. Later he moved to Washington, D. C., and, with a number of others interested in the Maya field, organized the Maya Society in the spring of 1920, becoming its first president. For a brief period in 1921 he was an honorary research associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In 1922 he became Director of Antiquities for the Republic of Guatemala, a position he held for about a year. In 1924, through a gift from Mr. Sam Zemurray of New Orleans, Tulane University purchased from Mr. Gates the latter's superb collection of Maya and Nahuatl manuscripts together with his large library in this special field. At the same time, Mr. Gates was asked to organize for the university a Department of Middle American Research, and he became its first director. In 1926 he resigned from this position and moved to his old home at Charlottesville, Virginia. Several years later he sold another collection of Maya manuscripts to Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore, and at that time moved to Baltimore, where he had a connection with the Johns Hopkins University and where he established the Maya Press, publishing a number of important books on Maya archaeology and linguistics. About three years ago he returned to Washington and occupied offices in the Library of Congress, where he was working at the time of his death. Mr. Gates's most significant contribution to the general field of Maya archaeology was his extensive collection of photographic reproductions of almost every known post-Conquest Maya manuscript, complete sets of which he sold to the Library of Congress, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University, and the American Museum of Natural History. His private collection of Maya and Nahuatl post-Conquest manuscript material was probably the best in the world. Mr. Gates's most important publication is probably his distinguished English translation of Bishop Diego de Landa's sixteenth century *Historia de las Cosas de Yucatan*. Landa's history is beyond all doubt the principal source for reconstructing the ancient Maya scene, and Gates's translation—the first English translation to appear in print—preserved in another tongue, practically without loss, the quaint, vigorous flavor of the original.

Frank Burr Marsh, Professor of Ancient History at the University of Texas, died in Dallas, on May 31, following an illness of about a year. Burial



was at his native home at Big Rapids, Michigan. Dr. Marsh was born on March 4, 1880, the son of Edwin Johnson and Alma Lucia (Burr) Marsh. He received his B.A. degree in 1902 and Ph.D. in 1906, both from the University of Michigan. After some graduate study at the University of Paris, he became assistant and then instructor in history at the University of Michigan, where he taught from 1903 to 1910. In 1910 he went to the University of Texas and remained a member of its history faculty until his death, serving as instructor from 1910 to 1916, adjunct professor from 1916 to 1923, associate professor from 1923 to 1926, and professor since 1926. He was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a member of the American Historical Association and of the American Philological Association. He became graduate research professor at the University of Texas in 1933 and served as secretary of the Graduate Faculty since 1925. His publications are numerous. The best known are: *English Rule in Gascony* (1199-1259), 1912; *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, 1922 (revised edition, 1927); *The Reign of Tiberius*, 1931; *A History of the Roman World* (146 to 30 B. C.), 1935; and *Tacitus: Selections from his Works* (with H. J. Leon), 1936.

The distinguished historian of Jewish philosophy, Zevi Diesendruck, died suddenly on June 4 at the age of forty-nine. Born in Stryj, Poland, he received his training at the Universities of Vienna and Berlin, obtaining at the former the Ph.D. degree in 1923. His dissertation on the structure and character of Plato's *Phaidros* won him wide recognition as a penetrating student of Platonic philosophy. His teaching career, begun in 1914 in Palestine and continued at the Kaiserin Augusta Gymnasium in Berlin, was interrupted by a two years' service in the Austrian army during the World War. In 1918 he joined the faculty of the Jewish Paedagogium (Teachers College) in Vienna as Professor of Hebrew Literature and Philosophy, subsequently serving as Visiting Lecturer at the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York (1927-28) and as Professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (1928-30). Since 1930 he occupied the chair of Jewish Philosophy at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. He made notable contributions to three distinct fields of thought. In a long series of philosophic essays in Hebrew and German, some of which were subsequently assembled in a volume entitled *Min ha-safah ve-lifnim* (Tel-Aviv, 1933), he analyzed searchingly certain basic philosophic concepts and assumptions. In extensive introductions and notes to his Hebrew translations of several dialogues of Plato (*Phaidros*, *Criton*, *Gorgias*, and the *Republic*) he shed considerable new light not only on some fundamental teachings of the Greek philosopher but also on the later Platonic tradition in general and Jewish letters. His investigations, finally, in the teachings of Moses Maimonides—in addition to his published studies of the Maimonidean doctrine of prophecy, attributes, teleology, etc., a comprehensive work on the entire system, in two volumes,

was nearing completion—have opened new vistas on the position of the leading Jewish medieval philosopher in the history of human thought.

Arthur Lyon Cross, Hudson Professor of English History at the University of Michigan, died at Ann Arbor after a short illness on June 21 in his sixty-seventh year. He was born in Maine, received all his professional training at Harvard, and remained to the last a resolute New Englander, although practically his whole professional career was associated with the University of Michigan, where he began as instructor in history in 1899 and served for over forty years. His first learned work of importance was *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, published in 1902. It pointed the way to his continuing interests, which were chiefly directed to the relations between England and Colonial America, to the Anglican Church, and to the history of English law. He wrote one of the best of all our textbook histories of England and Greater Britain. Of his more recent publications, the most significant were *Eighteenth Century Documents relating to the Royal Forests, the Sheriffs, and Smuggling* (1928) and *Benefit of Clergy in the American Criminal Law*, published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LXI, 154-81. The pages of American learned journals are strewn with his shorter contributions. Even so, he never committed to paper more than a very insignificant part of his learning, though he probably did as much in the aggregate to stimulate in others the writing of sound English history as any man of his generation west of the Alleghenies. Those who knew him well will remember long the breadth and catholicity of his learning and the liveliness of his wit. They will remember his sound judgment; they will remember the devoted and self-sacrificing quality of his friendship. He was a fine scholar, an inspiring teacher; above all, he was a cultivated gentleman.

Charles Templeman Loram, Sterling Professor of Education at Yale since 1931, died suddenly on July 8 at Ithaca, where he had gone to teach in the Cornell summer session. Born in Pietermaritzburg in 1879, Dr. Loram was a graduate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, a master of arts and doctor of laws of Cambridge, and a doctor of philosophy of Columbia University, where he majored in education. His educational work in Africa had by his own choice been with the native populations and gave him an opportunity which was perhaps unique in its range and variety. At Yale he promptly became the center and the driving force for a fuller understanding in the United States of that part of the larger problem of race relations which has to do with the education of primitive peoples and underprivileged groups in our more advanced communities. This was a position of leadership for which he was peculiarly fitted by his vigorous personality, his wide experience, and, it must be added, his native talents as an impresario. Though his period of service here proved all too short, it was one of rich

achievement, including work with the American Negroes, particularly in the Southern states, with the mixed populations in the Hawaiian Islands, and with the American Indians in the United States and in Canada as well. In addition, he made a place for himself as an interpreter of American educational institutions and methods for the many men and women who until a year ago had been visiting us from all parts of the British Empire. Dr. Loram was the author of *Education of the South African Native* and a contributor to educational and historical journals, including this *Review*. He lectured at various American universities besides Yale, including Harvard, Columbia, and California. Dr. Loram proved to be a most welcome and useful addition to our academic life, and his death at the height of his energies and powers is a serious loss.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *University of California* (Berkeley), Lawrence Kinnaird to be associate professor, Woodbridge Bingham and Howard M. Smyth to be assistant professors; *Colgate University*, Charles R. Wilson to be associate professor; *Hamline University*, Grace Lee Nute to be professor; *North Carolina State College*, David A. Lockmiller to be head of the department; *Queens College*, John Perry Pritchett to be assistant professor; *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, Susie Ames and Elizabeth Brook to be professors; *John B. Stetson University*, G. Leighton LaFuze to be head of the department; *Washington University*, Ralph P. Bieber to be professor.

Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Wisconsin has been appointed professor of history and political science and chairman of the department at the University of Arkansas to succeed David Y. Thomas, who retired last June.

Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, formerly Treasurer of the American Historical Association, has been appointed Visiting Carnegie Professor to lecture at leading South American universities this autumn.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid in the historical field: Ralph Paul Bieber, Washington University, the Santa Fé trail; Anton T. Boisen, Chicago Theological Seminary, the Holy Roller Cults in the United States; John F. Cady, Franklin College, the Anglo-French entente in the Far East, 1853-60; Claude Arthur Campbell, University of Oklahoma, and Mary R. Campbell, political and economic reconstruction in Tennessee; Charles Frederick Fraser, Northeastern University, the control of aliens in the British Commonwealth of Nations; Milton W. Hamilton, Albright College, rural journalism in Vermont, 1781-1850; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, English and colonial mercantilism; Richard Heathcote Heindel, University of Pennsylvania,

American influence in England; Hildegard Binder Johnson, German immigration to Minnesota; Thomas Edward La Fargue, Washington State College, the Chinese Educational Commission to the United States, 1871-81; Beverly McAnear, Brooklyn College, political parties and the rise of responsible government in provincial New York, 1689-1775; Fritz Karl Mann, American University, fiscal policies in the United States; John W. Masland, Stanford University, American foreign policy in relation to Japan; Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, religious minorities in England since 1660; Fritz L. Redlich, Mercer University, American business leaders; Watt Stewart, Albany State College for Teachers, the importation of Chinese labor in Peru; Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University, democratic trends in Southern history, 1819-48; George Vernadsky, Yale University, the social organization of the Alans down to A. D. 558; Harold M. Vinacke, University of Cincinnati, the foreign policies of the Taft administration; Edgar Zilsel, Institute of Social Research, society, technology, and economy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Southern grants-in-aid are: Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, the country and small-town store in the post-war South; Weymouth Tyree Jordan, Judson College, pre-Civil War plantation practices in Alabama; Francis Butler Simkins, Farmville State Teachers College, a life of Benjamin Ryan Tillman, South Carolina agrarian leader. A postdoctoral fellowship was awarded to John C. Eberhart, Northwestern University, for advanced training in political science and history. A predoctoral field fellowship was awarded to Albert Wohlstetter, Columbia University, for field training with various agencies undertaking research in economic history. Of the total number of awards made by the Social Science Research Council only six appointees will engage in foreign travel—one to China, one to Great Britain, one to Guatemala, one to Bolivia, one to Brazil and Argentina, and one to the British West Indies.

Miss Ellen Starr Brinton, curator of the Jane Addams Peace Collection, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, is interested in ascertaining the present location of a collection of books regarding the Rogerenes, formerly in the possession of H. Eugene Bolles of Boston, who died in 1910. She would appreciate it if any of our readers who may be in a position to give her information would communicate with her.

# THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884

Chartered by Congress in 1889

## *Principal Office*

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ANNEX, STUDY ROOM 274, WASHINGTON, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER, 1939: 3532. Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting is held in the last days of each year. The average attendance exceeds 900.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast. Full membership in the Association is maintained.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, published under a government appropriation and distributed to members gratis on request, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary school teachers.

PRIZES: The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$150, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in American history.

The *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize* of \$200, awarded in the odd-numbered years for a work in the field of American, including South American, history.

The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded for a work upon any phase of European international history since 1895.

The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history.

DUES: The annual dues are \$5.00; there is no initiation fee. The fee for life membership, \$100, secures exemption from all annual dues.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary at Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

### THREE SIGNIFICANT BOOKS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

## THE IRREPRESSIBLE DEMOCRAT

— Roger Williams —

By SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER, Wesleyan University

JUST PUBLISHED—no student of American or English history can afford to miss this absorbing book. Although Roger Williams lived 300 years ago, there is, in his life and times, a startling pertinence to today's American ideal of a dynamic, working democracy.

Combining history with biography, it deals with the transit of radical English ideas of liberty and equality to the American colonies, and presents Roger Williams as the first great spokesman on these shores of the democratic faith.

\$4.00

## The Course of American Democratic Thought

An Intellectual History Since 1815

By RALPH H. GABRIEL, Yale University

*New York Herald Tribune:* " . . . Professor Gabriel has given us one of the significant books of our historical literature—one of the few that attempt interpretation on the grand scale. . . . It is a book that must be read and pondered by all students of our cultural development and one that illuminates the future as well as the present."

*Time Magazine:* " . . . his book is strictly and impressively U. S. stuff, the richest work of its kind since Parrington's 'Main Currents of American Thought'."

\$4.00

## Cities in the Wilderness

The First Century of Urban Life in America

By CARL BRIDENBAUGH, Brown University

*The Nation:* " . . . will prove a mine of reference for historians and sociologists. Historical novelists will sleep with the book under their pillows, and even the lay reader may be induced to plunge into its detail, for it is written with distinction and with a kind of eagerness that makes even its more technical considerations absorbing."

*Charles M. Andrews:* " . . . May I congratulate you on a piece of work that is certain to be an outstanding authority on the subject of which it treats."

\$5.00

## THE RONALD PRESS COMPANY

15 East 26th Street, New York, N. Y.

... A Work planned and executed in so catholic a spirit fully deserves its ambitious title.

Ernest Sutherland Bates, in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, New York, June, 1939

## THE BIBLE OF MANKIND

*compiled and edited by*

**MIRZA AHMAD SOHRAB**

contains the essence of the Nine Great Religions that have inspired humanity throughout the ages.

**Hinduism**

**Zoroastrianism**

**Buddhism**

**Confucianism**

**Taoism**

**Judaism**

**Christianity**

**Islam**

**Bahai Cause**

enriched with historical prefaces to each religion prepared by scholars of note.

*Excellent Reading Type*

744 Pages

Price \$5.00

**The New History Foundation**

132 East 65th Street New York, N. Y.

## THE PATTERN OF POLITICS

by

**J. T. SALTER**

A book about politics in which the average voter may find himself with slight difficulty. Here are ethics, the arguments, the types of leadership that appear and reappear in American elections, local and national.

\$2.25

The Macmillan Company  
60 Fifth Avenue New York

# MAP STUDIES

## IN EUROPEAN HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By **WILSON LEON GODSHALL**

*for the first time*

CORRELATED MAP ASSIGNMENTS

AND OUTLINE MAPS

*in one manual*

35 problems and 35 outline maps in one binding, \$1.00.

**HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY**

Boston

New York

Chicago

Dallas

Atlanta

San Francisco





**Managing Editor**  
R. V. COLEMAN

**Associate Editors**  
THOMAS ROBSON HAY  
RALPH FOSTER WELD

**Advisory Council**

- RANDOLPH G. ADAMS  
Director, William L. Clements  
Library of American History,  
University of Michigan
- PAUL M. ANGLE  
Librarian, Illinois State  
Historical Library
- EUGENE C. BARKER  
Professor of History,  
University of Texas
- THEODORE C. BLEGEN  
Professor of American History,  
University of Minnesota
- HERBERT E. BOLTON  
Sather Professor of History;  
Director of the Bancroft Library,  
University of California, Berkeley
- JULIAN P. BOYD  
Librarian, Princeton University
- SOLOMON J. BUCK  
Director of Publications,  
The National Archives
- CARL L. CANNON  
Associate in Bibliography,  
Brown University Library
- CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN  
Secretary, Indiana Historical  
Society
- DIXON RYAN FOX  
President, Union College;  
President, New York State  
Historical Association
- DOUGLAS SOUTHAFF FREEMAN  
Editor, The Richmond News  
Leader; President, Southern  
Historical Society
- WM. STARR MYERS  
Professor of Politics, Princeton  
University
- ALLAN NEVINS  
Professor of History, Columbia  
University
- MILO M. QUAIFE  
Secretary, The Burton Historical  
Collection, Detroit
- WILLIAM W. SWEET  
Professor of the History of  
American Christianity,  
University of Chicago
- ROBERT W. G. VAIL  
Director, New York State Library
- MALCOLM G. WYER  
Librarian, Denver Public  
Library; Director of Libraries,  
University of Denver

*Charles Scribner's Sons*  
*Announce*

the publication on September 23rd, of

# DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Prepared under the General Editorship of*  
JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS



This unparalleled historical work has been in preparation for the last four years. More than a thousand outstanding historians and a distinguished advisory council have explored the highways and byways of our national annals for the material that fills its hundreds of pages.

Now their work is ready. It provides an inestimable treasure of information as well as a reference work which has long been needed. In its 6425 separate articles, each dealing concisely and authoritatively with a definite event in, or aspect of, American history, the user will find easily and quickly the exact information he wishes about any particular subject in this field.

In times when a thorough knowledge of American history is more necessary and more valuable than ever before, this unique work is essential in the homes and offices of thoughtful men and women. Its alphabetical arrangement, informative captions, numerous cross-references and usable bibliographies will enable the reader to run down the last desired fact.

The text, complete from the A. B. Plot to the Zwaanendael Colony, is now ready in five handsome volumes at a price of \$60.00. The Index Volume will be supplied without additional charge when ready in the late autumn.

The Dictionary of American History may be examined, and is on sale, at leading bookstores. It may also be purchased through accredited representatives of this company.

We shall be pleased to send you a free descriptive brochure.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

597 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

## NEW HARVARD BOOKS

### The Middle Classes in American Politics

By ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE. A distinguished exponent of democracy here presents a sound political philosophy based upon the American way of life. \$2.50

### The Quest for Peace

By WILLIAM E. RAPPARD. "These pages reveal the course of the road to ruin and show how and why that road was preferred to the safe highway Woodrow Wilson tried to build."—*New Republic*. \$4.00

### The Saar Plebiscite

By SARAH WAMBAUGH. "The wealth of detailed information assembled in this volume is remarkable, and so is the high degree of understanding and objectivity with which Miss Wambaugh evaluates the facts."—*American Journal of International Law*. \$5.00

### The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860

By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. "This picture of the life and conditions from which came those who made the United States, is as living and real as it is exact and scholarly."—DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER. \$3.50

### The Emperor Claudius

By VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA. Contrary to tradition, Mr. Scramuzza concludes that Claudius was an enlightened conservative guided by the policies of Augustus. HARVARD HISTORICAL STUDIES, 44. \$3.75

### Charleston Goes to Harvard

Edited by ARTHUR H. COLE. This diary of a student of the Class of 1832 reflects not only the college life of the time but much of what was happening in Boston circles. \$1.50

### The Lusiad

Edited with an Introduction by J. D. M. FORD. This splendid edition of the *Lusiad* of Luis de Camoens will interest all readers who enjoy epic poetry, or who are curious about the content of a literary masterpiece which has fascinated many readers in all lands since its original publication."—*Springfield Republican*. \$3.50

### The Roman Art of War under the Republic

By FRANK E. ADCOCK. An illuminating and interesting account of the men, the sea, the land, foreign policy, general strategy, and generalship of Roman war down to the Battle of Actium. MARTIN CLASSICAL LECTURES, 8. \$2.00

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHERS OF THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

1 RANDALL HALL, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

---

## BOOKS

---

### THE CLASH OF POLITICAL IDEALS

*By*

ALBERT R. CHANDLER, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy,  
Ohio State University

THE primary purpose of this timely source book is to give the reader authentic expressions of the ideas and ideals of the various social movements which have come into conflict in the present war. The book presents selections from the most important writings of the leading exponents of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, Communism as a world-wide movement, Democracy, especially in the United States, and the political philosophy of Japan. Each selection is preceded by a brief introduction giving the most important facts about the author and the relation of the selection to the movement with which it deals. A valuable supplementary book for university and college courses in social theory, political theory, and courses dealing with the issues of the war.

Royal 8vo, 246 pages.

*Student's Edition, \$2.00*

### THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

*By*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, Sometime Professor of History  
Wesleyan College, Macon, Ga.; and ROY F. NICHOLS, Pro-  
fessor of History, University of Pennsylvania

THIS book gives a balanced picture of the beginnings and development of the American democracy, presented in a manner that will stimulate independent thinking and encourage further reading and study. It is a social history of the United States; but, because it considers those forms of behavior which have most engrossed American interest, it embraces more of so-called political history than is usually treated in social history discussion. Allan Nevins, of Columbia University, says of this book: "The volume is not only accurate but expert and abreast of the latest scholarship, while it possesses valuable new features, particularly in its careful articulation of economic development with political history, and its attention to culture." Royal 8vo, 819 pages, illus.

\$4.00

---

#### D. APPLETON-CENTURY COMPANY

35 West 32nd St.  
New York

2126 Prairie Ave.  
Chicago

★ **YALE** ★**MY VANISHED AFRICA****Peter W. Rainier**

The adventure-packed autobiography of a young man born and brought up in South Africa. Peter Rainier has been engineer and big-game hunter, has caught gold thieves and tamed cannibals, and he talks to a native as one man to another. \$2.75

— • —

*Two New Volumes in:*

**THE RELATIONS OF  
CANADA AND THE  
UNITED STATES SERIES**

**The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749-1763.** MAX SAVELLE \$2.50

**The United States, Great Britain, and British North America.** A. S. BURT \$3.25

**OUR RISING EMPIRE****Arthur Burr Darling**

"The study is a thoroughly scholarly and painstaking one of our earliest relations with European powers. . . . I do not know of any other single volume which covers it so adequately, authoritatively, and in such detail." —James Truslow Adams in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. \$5.00

**THE IRISH LAND LEAGUE  
CRISIS\*****Norman Dunbar Palmer**

A study of the critical years 1879-1881 when the Irish peasantry under the leadership of Davitt and Parnell attempted to gain possession of the soil for themselves. \$3.50

**BRACTON:**

**De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae\***  
**Vol III. Edited by George E. Woodbine**

The first two volumes of this monumental work were published a number of years ago and are now out of print. \$7.50

\*Represents a volume in the Yale Historical Series

**YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS: New Haven, Conn.**

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

**Italy in the Making, Vol. III**

By G. F.-H. and J. Berkeley \$6.00

This volume deals in detail with the year of revolution, January to November 1848. The small Italian nations were ready to break out against Austrian domination, and the whole of Europe was on the verge of revolution. The crowded story of 1848 told by Mr and Mrs Berkeley is momentous and stirring.

**The Medieval Fenland \$3.00****The Draining of the Fens \$5.50**

By H. C. Darby

These two volumes in the *Cambridge Studies in Economic History* cover the history of the changing conditions of the Fenland from before Domesday to the beginning of the new era of the steam engine. "Dr Darby has placed historians in his debt for a fascinating and learned book."

—Eileen Power in *The New Statesman*.**A History of the Monastic  
Order in England,  
A.D. 943-1216**

By Dom David Knowles \$9.50

This book tells of the foundation and fortunes of several houses and orders, and describes the life, work, achievements and problems of the monks.

**The History of the English  
Electoral Law in the  
Middle Ages**By Ludwig Riess, translated by K. L. Wood-  
Legh \$1.90

Riess's monograph, which profoundly influenced the study of English Constitutional History, has been out of print for some years. This annotated translation will therefore be of particular value.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

60 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

## **A History of the Gambia**

**By J. M. Gray      \$7.50**

The River Gambia was the first point of contact between England and West Africa, and this link has been unbroken since the time of Queen Elizabeth. Mr Gray, who is a judge of the Supreme Court of Gambia, has written the first complete and authoritative history of the region, from the early struggles of the merchant adventurers down to the present time.

## **A History of Cyprus**

**Vol. I. To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart  
By Sir George Hill      \$6.00**

The history of Cyprus is largely the history of the conquerors and colonists who have seized upon this strategically important island; its sources are therefore many and distant. Sir George Hill brings together the work of many specialists. His first volume deals with the pre-history of Cyprus, its colonisation by Greeks, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians and Romans, and the new importance it acquired in crusading times.

## **The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century**

**By J. H. Parry      \$1.25**

An account of the political and moral ideas with regard to Imperialism current when Spain was building her empire in the New World.

## **Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750**

**By J. O. McLachlan      \$3.50**

A study of the influence of commerce on Anglo-Spanish diplomacy in the first half of the eighteenth century.

**THE MACMILLAN COMPANY**  
60 FIFTH AVENUE      NEW YORK CITY

## THE OLD DEAL AND THE NEW DEAL

*by* Charles A. Beard *and*  
George H. E. Smith

Fearlessly and without partisan bias, the authors have set themselves to analyze the nature of difficulties that beset our nation at home and abroad, in a swift summary of American economics and politics between 1929 and 1940. They cover such diverse fields as labor, finance, agriculture, foreign relations, and go on to indicate the issues of the 1940 presidential campaign. \$2.00

---

## AMERICAN MIRROR

*by* Halford E. Luccock

Here is a candid camera picture of the ten tumultuous years of American life as expressed in the literature of the decade from 1930 to 1940. The theme of the book deals with the impact of the dark years on the minds and lives of people, when "the merry-go-round" broke down. There results a brilliant analysis of the American scene that is of challenging interest. \$2.50

The author is Professor of  
Homiletics at Yale University.

*at all bookstores*

*Prices tentative*

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

60 Fifth Avenue

New York City



History of England, 1660-1760, by Judith Blom Williams.....	124
Lord Stair; id., <i>Lord Belingbroke's secrets politiques</i> , by C. P. Higby.....	126
1778, by C. P. Higby.....	127
1778, by Howard Robinson.....	129
1778's Correspondence, III-VIII, by Dora Mae Clark.....	130
by Jacques Barzun.....	132
1806-1807, by Herbert Heaton.....	133
1806-1807, <i>Crisis in Prussia</i> , by Guy Stanton Ford.....	134
Lettere di Luciano Manara a Fanny Bonacina Spini; by Howard McGaw Smyth.....	136
1808.....	137
1808-1811, II, VI, by Lawrence D. Steele.....	138
1866-1914, by E. C. Helmreich.....	140
Albrecht-Carrié.....	141
William L. Langer.....	142
1848.....	143
1907, by Thomas P. Brockway.....	145
William Yale.....	146
H. H. Fisher.....	148
the U. S. S. R.; <i>History of the Communist Party of</i> Hutchill.....	149
1909, by Oscar Jászi.....	150
<i>Syndical and Corporative Institutions of Italian Fascism</i> , .....	152
Germany from 1933 to the Incorporation of Austria; Poole, 1939, by Leland H. Jenks.....	153
AMERICAN HISTORY	
Allen Billington.....	154
Business History, by Harold U. Faulkner.....	156
.....	157
the Old Northwest, by A. L. Burt.....	158
P. Boyd.....	160
Bolander.....	161
Georgia in the Eighteenth Century, by W. M. Gewehr.....	162
by Roy G. Blakey.....	163
Thought, by Charles A. Beard.....	164
Houston, 1813-1863, II, by Isaac J. Cox.....	165
the U. S.: <i>Inter-American Affairs</i> , X-XII, by J. Fred .....	166
American Frontier, by William W. Sweet.....	168
.....	169
Sioussat.....	171
by J. G. Randall.....	172
A. Howard Meneely.....	173
Hicks.....	175
Dennett.....	176
by Bessie Louise Pierce.....	178
Parson.....	179
the U. S., 1924, by Edward Mead Earle.....	180
Britain, by Dexter Perkins.....	181

#### NOTES ON OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

of *Leveal*, p. 197; *British Empire*, p. 203; *France, Belgium*,  
of *Europe*, p. 213; *Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary*, p.  
of *Russia*, p. 218; *Far East*, p. 220; *United States*, p. 220; *Latin*

and review textbooks and works of current discussion.

WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.  
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

## *New Books*

### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Volume I—1492-1865. By Homer C. Hockett. 861 pages.  
\$3.25

Volume II—1865-1940. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. To  
be ready in January, 1941. \$3.25 (probable)

This is a thoroughly revised, new Third Edition of the famous Hockett and Schlesinger text, *Political and Social Growth of the United States*. Volume I is now ready for use in first semester classes. Volume II will be published in time for use in the second semester. The new revision of this work brings the history completely up to date and further strengthens one of the best texts ever published for college courses in American history. All material have been brought up to date, and the books are illustrated for the first time. The *Syllabus* to accompany the first volume has also been revised and is now ready for use with that text. The price of the *Syllabus* is \$.50.

### DOCUMENTS AND READINGS IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

By J. M. Mathews and C. A. Berdahl

The new, Second Edition of this source book provides documentation for all aspects of American government and all important stages in its history. These papers show government in the making—the formulation of principles and policies, fixing of precedent, the crucial instances in the continual process of adaptation to new conditions. The new edition contains more than 75 new selections illustrating the important developments and issues in American government and politics during the last two years. \$4.00 (probable)

*Macmillan, New York*